National Anti-Slavery Standard.

S. H. GAY, OLIVER JOHNSON, } ..... Editors.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

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Selections.

SLAVERY AND THE UNION.

It seems to be time, in view of the circumstances in which the country is now placed, and of the great controversy respecting Slavery, revived by Pierce and Douglas, and their southern allies in the extinct Whig party of the South, the Badgers, the Joneses and the Claytons—a controversy whose conclusion no man can foresee—it is time, we say, to examine the point of which the South makes the greatest account, which it constantly employs by way of both defence and offence, and without which, indeed, it would often be difficult for southern champions to have anything to say at all. This point is succinctly expressed in the following extract from the *Union, Past and Future*, a pamphlet published at Charleston in 1850, widely circulated at the time, and since republished in whole or in part in various other places thoughout the Southern States:

"The North possesses none of the material elements of greatness, in which the South abounds, whether we regard the productions of the soil, the access to the markets of the world or the capacity of military defence. While the slave States produce nearly everything within themselves, the free States will soon depend on them even for food, as they now do for rice, sugar, tobacco and cotton—the employment of their ships in southern commerce, the employment of their labour in the manufacture of southern cotton, and all that they can purchase of other countries with the fabrics of that great southern staple. We have shown that the price of that staple must be permanently raised; how would the manufacturing industry of the free States stand this rise, *if their taxes were raised by a dissolution of the Union, and how would their labourers subsist under this new burden, if they at once lost the employment afforded by the free use of one hundred and forty millions of southern capital, and the disbursement of twenty millions of southern taxes?* The answer to this question will bring us to the last view we shall present of our subject, and will show that *the Union has, in truth, inestimable worth for the North.* It defies all the powers of figures to calculate the value to the free States of the conservative influence of the South upon their social organization."

Few ideas are more widely disseminated or more deeply seated among Southern men than that which is here inculcated—the oppression of the slaveholding States for the benefit of the free ones. Few errors are of more universal acceptation than is the belief throughout all the country south of Mason and Dixon's line that the prosperity of the North is due to its connection with the South, and that a continuance of that connection is to the former a matter of absolute necessity if it would avoid returning to the "original poverty and weakness" that must inevitably result from a dissolution of the Union. To northern men such an event, as we are told, would be fatal, because it would be followed by an increase of taxation, a diminished demand for labour, and diminished power to command the capital of the South, accompanied by increased difficulty in finding freight for their ships, or raw material for consumption in their factories and mills. To them, therefore, the Union is, according to universal southern authority, "of inestimable worth;" whereas a dissolution of the Union would, to the South, be fraught with blessings. Once separated from the North, says our pamphlet:

"Her trade would revive and grow, like a field of young corn, when the long expected showers descend after a withering drought. The South now loses the use of some 130 or 140 millions a year of her capital, and also pays to the federal Government at least 26 millions of taxes, 23 of which are spent beyond her borders. This great stream of taxation continually bears the wealth of the South far away on its waves, and small indeed is the portion which ever returns in refreshing clouds to replenish its sources. Turn it back to its natural channel, and the South will be relieved of 15 millions of taxes, to be left where they can be most wisely expended, in the hands of the payers; and the other 11 millions will furnish salaries to her people and encouragement to her labour. Restore to her the use of the 130 or 140 millions a year of her produce for the foreign trade, and all her ports will throng with business. Norfolk and Charleston and Savannah, so long pointed at by the North as a proof of the pretended evils of Slavery, will be crowded with shipping, and their warehouses crammed with merchandise. The use and command of this large capital would cut canals; it would build roads and tunnel mountains, and drive the iron horse through the remotest valleys, till 'the desert should blossom like the rose'"

Four years have now elapsed since the publication of this pamphlet, and with each and every day of those years these ideas have obtained a stronger hold on the southern mind, until at length we find them now repeated from every quarter of the slaveholding States. In all, the continuance of the Union is now regarded as the one great *necessity* of the North—as the condition of its existence as a thriving and prosperous community. All that northern people desire, as we are told by the *Charleston Mercury*, is "power and gain," and to secure these they *must* cling to the Union as the sheet-anchor of all their hopes. With the South, on the contrary, the great necessity is dissolution, and, if the Union is to be maintained, it can be so only on condition that southern men shall be the masters of its policy, both external and internal. The North may wince, but it *must* submit. So says the *Mercury* even now:

"They threaten us with a great northern party, and a general war upon the South. If they were not mere hucksters in politics—with only this peculiarity, that every man offers himself, instead of some other commodity, for sale—we should surmise that they might do what they threaten, and *thus bring out the real triumph of the South, by making a dissolution of the Union necessary.* But they will do no such thing. They will bluster and utter a world of swelling self-glorification, and end by knocking themselves down to the highest bidder. To be sure, if they could make the best bargains by destroying the South, they would set about it without delay. But they cannot. *They live upon us, and the South affords them the double gratification of an object for hatred and a field for plunder.* How far they may be moved to carry their indignation at this time, it is impossible to say; but we may be sure they will cool off just at the point where they discover that they can make nothing more out of it, and *may* lose."

"The real triumph of the South" would, as we are told, be found in the adoption by the North of such a course of policy as would make "a dissolution of the Union necessary." Therefore, the South may demand what it pleases, and the North must yield all that is demanded on penalty of separation. "It is sufficient reason," say the *Columbia Times*, "for demanding the passage of the Nebraska bill, that it excites the hostilities of the Abolitionists and Free Soilers." That it does so is regarded as evidence that the measure "is right and proper, and therefore to be supported." Let the North fume and fret, it dare not dissolve that Union to which it is indebted for all its "power and gain." We make another quotation from the Charleston pamphlet:

"The fall of wages would be heavy and instantaneous were the Union dissolved, for that event would, as we have shown, not only throw $20,000,000 of new taxes upon the North, but would withdraw $140,000,000 of capital which now employs her labour. The loss would fall chiefly, if not entirely, upon wages. The Northern capitalist would not submit to a decrease of profits, but would send a part of his capital to the South, where profits were higher, until he had reduced wages at home to a point which would leave him nearly as much clear gain on his industry as before. He would in this way escape the whole burden of the new taxes, and throw it upon labour."

Northern politicians repeat this doctrine, assuring their fellow-citizens that safety and prosperity are indissolubly connected with the maintenance and extension of Slavery, which we are told is absolutely necessary to the maintenance of the Union. Slavery must be tolerated in all the territory open to settlement and organization, or the South will secede. Some of these politicians, "for the sake of candour," admit that, but a few years since, they did desire to preserve a portion of the common territory exempt from Slavery; but as they assure their Southern friends, they are now most penitent, and gladly admit the error of their former course. "Thank God we failed!" is the pious exclamation of one of these gentlemen recently before the Senate, waiting confirmation in the honourable office of *Charge d'Affaires* to Portugal. Anxious to *earn* his office, he gladly proclaimed his peritence. Had we succeded, as he tells his countrymen, the South would have seceded from the Union. Such was the cry in 1820; such was it in 1830; such was it in 1850. Such it now is, and such it will be when the South shall *demand* the repeal of all the laws which prevent the introduction of slaves as such into the free States, and those other laws by which the African slave trade is prohibited, and all concerned in it are declared pirates. The proverb tells us that "little by little the bird builds its nest." Those who will study the course of proceeding from the days of Jefferson and Madison to the present time, can scarcely fail to see that the nest *has* been built "little by little," until it has arrived almost at the point of completion—that it now needs little more than to be covered in by the passage of a brief law declaring that slaves may be *purchased anywhere and carried everywhere*—and that, "to this complexion we must come at last."

More than thirty years since, Southern men commenced their threats of dissolution. More than thirty years Northern men have been engaged in "saving the Union," and to accomplish that object they have not only yielded all that has been claimed, but have crouched before the men that spurned them. Throughout all that period they have, to use the words of the *Charleston Courier*, exhibited the "base cupidity and servile truckling and subserviency to the South," which, as that journal informs its readers, prevail "almost universally" throughout the Northern States, and with what result? For an answer to this question we refer our readers to the following comments upon Mr. Parker's recent discourse, which, as the *Courier* assures its Southern readers—

"Truthfully, as well as strongly, details and depicts the various occasions on which Southern interests have obtained the mastery in Congress, or, at least, important advantages, *which are well worthy the consideration of all who erroneously suppose that the action of the General Government has been, on the whole adverse to Slavery.* The truth is, that our Government, although hostile in its incipiency to domestic Slavery, and starting into political being with a strong bent towards Abolition, yet afterward so changed its policy that its action for the most part, and with only a few exceptions, has fostered the slaveholding interest, and swelled it from six to fifteen States, and from a feeble and spare population to one of ten millions."

Harsh as this may sound to Northern ears, it is yet most true, and it affords to its Southern authors full warrant for complimenting "the sons of the South" upon their unwavering "fidelity to their own interests," real or supposed. What, however, shall we say of the sons of the North—the "hucksters in politics," always ready, as the *Mercury* assures us, to "knock themselves down to the highest bidder" for Northern men with Southern principles? Can we say aught of them but that their cause has generally been masked by "cupidity, truckling and subserviency to the South," by aid of which the latter has acquired a degree of control over the operations of the Union never contemplated by the men who framed the Constitution?

Sixty-five years since, at the date of the adoption of the Constitution, there existed throughout the Union scarcely any difference of opinion on the question of Slavery. Washington and Adams, Jefferson and Franklin, Hamilton and Madison, Jay, Randolph, and Pinckney, all equally regarded it as a blight and a curse, to be exterminated at as early a period as was consistent with proper regard for the interests of those by whom the slaves were held. The policy of the government then inaugurated tended, as the *Courier* informs its readers, "toward Abolition." Twenty years later, the same opinions were still held by Southern men, as was shown by the debates in Congress on the subject of Slavery in the Territory of Indiana. The war of 1812, directed by Madison and Monroe, was emphatically a war of the southern and middle States, having for one of its objects an enlargement of the free territory of the Union. Virginia did not then object to the annexation of Canada, but at that time none had yet undertaken to prove that Slavery among the people was required for the establishment of perfect freedom among their masters. None had then undertaken to show that "the love of true liberty and manly independence of thought" could exist in no communities except those in which men, their wives and their children were bought and sold like cattle in the market. The discovery of this great political truth was reserved for the generation succeeding that which gave to the world such men as Washington, Jefferson and Madison.

That, in the outset, the tendencies of the nation were "toward Abolition," is most true. Equally true is it that for the last thirty years they have been in the opposite direction, and, in so asserting, the *Courier* is sustained by facts. With difficulty the territory North and West of Missouri was secured to the free States as their share of the Louisiana purchase. Since then, Florida has been purchased by the Union *for the South*, and Texas has been purchased by the Union *for the South*. At the cost of an expensive war, *made by the South*, and for Southern objects, a portion of the Mexican territory has been added to the Union, and Cuba is now to be purchased, at a cost of a hundred millions, *for the South*. The Gadsden treaty, at a cost of twenty millions, secures more territory *for the South*.

What, in all this time, has been purchased for the North? Nothing! Not even a foot of land! When we had a dispute with England about the boundaries of Maine, that State was left to compromise as best she could. When the boundaries of Texas were to be settled, an army was sent to the State, and when collision had been thus produced, war was declared "to exist;" and that war was prosecuted until we had spent almost a hundred millions, and had added a vast amount of territory on the Southern and South-Western side of the Union. At the North all is different. Canada and the other British possessions, with their two and a half millions of people, would not be admitted into the Union were they to offer themselves, with a bonus of twenty millions. The area of Slavery must be enlarged at any cost, but that of freedom must not, even when it can be done with profit to ourselves. Worse, however, than this, the North *dares not* even recognise the existence of freedom in any community the members of which are suspected of having in their veins African blood. We can have no commercial treaty with the people of Hayti, because they are black, and are not liable to be seized and sold. We have not dared to recognise the Republic of Liberia, lest it might offend the South. Look where we may, the South dictates the policy of the whole Union; the action of whose government has, as the *Courier* correctly assures its readers, "fostered the slaveholding interests, and swelled it from six to fifteen States," and now proposes to swell it still further, by repealing the Missouri Compromise and purchasing Cuba.

Has this policy tended to cement the bonds of union? It would seem not; for, while the great mass of the American people, north of Mason and Dixon's line, have remained fast and firm to the faith of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, and have carried their ideas into practical effect by abolishing Slavery, those South of the line have been gradually taking up a new faith which teaches that the relation of master and slave is of divine origin, and is to be maintained now and forevermore. "Divine Providence, for its own high and inscrutable purposes," has, as we are told by the Charleston pamphleteer W,

"Provided the whites of the Anglo-Norman race in the Southern States with the necessary means of unexampled prosperity, with that slave labour, without which, as a general rule, no colonization in a new country ever has or ever will thrive and grow rapidly; it has given them a distinct and inferior race to fill a position equal to their highest capacity, which in less fortunate countries is occupied by the whites themselves."

To preserve this state of things, and maintain the existing "domestic institutions of the South, is, as the same writer informs us, one of the chief duties of government, and a system based upon such institutions "becomes instinct with life and healthy vigour." "Public opinion," then, as he says, "works in its true calling, as the moderator, not the silencer, of individual differences;" and a community thus established presents, as Mr. Calhoun was accustomed to assure his friends, the most perfect form of society the world has ever yet seen. It is under such circumstances that we are to find the highest organization, and for this, as we are told, "the Southern States have peculiar and well nigh indispensable advantages in their slave institutions, which forever obliterate the division between labour and capital."

We see thus that the North and the South are steadily moving in opposite directions—the one becoming more averse to Slavery, and the other more enamoured of it. Differences in their modes of thought increase from day to day. Southern men now require Southern school-books for their children, and Southern teachers for themselves. The ties that once united different sections of the great Methodist association have been broken, and already, in other churches, there are differences that must eventually lead to separation. Southern planters hold Southern conventions, and decline to attend those to which are invited the agriculturists of the Union. Southern commercial conventions are held with a view to measures for avoiding Northern cities. Southern States impose taxes upon Northern products from which foreign ones are free. Southern political conventions precede the dissolution of the ties which formerly connected Southern and Northern Whigs, and Southern and Northern Democrats. From year to year the tendency, in and out of Congress, is toward sectionalism; and such being the case, there would seem now to be some propriety in examining how far the Northern States depend upon the South for their prosperity and their existence, and how far the menace of disunion, supposing it is earnestly meant and really to be carried out, ought to be regarded by them with anxiety or alarm. That question we shall take an early occasion to consider. —*Tribune.*

RELATIVE POWER OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH.

North of Mason and Dixon's line, of the Ohio, and of the Missouri line, there are fifteen States, in all of which Slavery is prohibited. South of Maryland and Missouri there are twelve States in which Slavery is regarded as a blessing. Between these two great blocks of States lie three whose position may at first appear doubtful, to wit:

	Free population.	Slave.	Total.
Delaware	87,719	2,688	90,407
Maryland	485,946	89,204	575,150
Missouri	605,140	87,767	692,907

Slavery exists in all of these, but the proportion of slaves to free is, as our readers see, but little more than one to seven. The tendencies of the majority must, therefore, be in the direction of the North, and their interests carry them necessarily toward the North. Maryland is fast becoming a mining and manufacturing State, and the policy of the North favours diversification of labour, and thus furnishes a market for coal and iron that cannot be obtained in the South. Baltimore has a large trade with the West, and the largest portion of it, that which she has made the greatest efforts to secure, lies north of the Ohio; and it is in that quarter that augmentation is most rapid. Her slaves are few in number, and, in the event of separation, she would have the guarantee of the North for their possession during the period of preparation for gradual and quiet emancipation; whereas, should she go with the South, but few would remain at the close of a single year from the date of separation from Pennsylvania. Her union with the North is not one, therefore, to be dissolved; Delaware, of course, accompanies her, and becomes a part of the North. So, too, with Missouri. Her interests look eastward, and not sotuhward. Railroads are rapidly uniting her with the cities of the Atlantic coast. Her farmers and miners look eastward for a market for their products. Her chief city looks westward and northward, and not southward, for its trade. It may, therefore, be regarded as absolutely certain that, in the event of the threatened dissolution of the Union, these three States will remain connected with the North. What would be the course of Kentucky and Western Virginia, it is somewhat, though we think not very much, more difficult to determine. Both would have very strong reasons for pursuing the same course with Maryland and Missouri; but for the present we will assume that they belong to the South, and that the following is the proper classification of the State:

In the North are New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, California, and Minnesota, now soon to become a State. The South includes Virginia, and the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas.

States.	Free Population.	Slave.	Total.
North.....20	14,800,000	178,000	14,978,000
South.....12	5,200,000	3,000,000	8,200,000

Such were the proportions at the date of the census, now nearly four years old; but since then they have been materially changed. The vast immigration of the last four years, coupled with the natural increase, must have swelled the population of the northern set of States to seventeen millions; while the natural increase, and a small immigration, have probably carried the number in the southern one to nine millions. The total population of the Union in 1840 was scarcely greater than is that of the States which, in a sectional division, must constitute the North.

It is charged that the North lives upon the South, that its prosperity results from the vast trade furnished by the South, and that it could not prosper if separated from the South; and these are the charges it is proposed now to examine. If they are well founded, and if the North owes to its Southern connection all its "power and gain," it may be well to submit to all the demands of the South, "rather than return to their natural poverty and weakness;" but, before doing this, it would be well to be assured that the facts are really so. We think they are not, and are disposed to think that our readers will; at the close of the examination, agree with us in this belief.

The "gain" from a customer is dependent altogether on his power to purchase; and this is, in its turn, dependent on his power to sell. The man who sells his day's labour for a dollar, cannot be a customer to the storekeeper to a greater extent than a dollar per day. The farmer who has only one hundred bushels of wheat to sell, cannot purchase more than the value of those bushels. The planter who has but twenty bales of cotton to sell, cannot purchase more goods than they will pay for. So it is with communities. Their power to purchase is limited by their power to sell. Such being the case, it would seem to be obvious that trade among the people of the North must be of vastly greater extent than among those of the South. In the latter, labour is not held in honour among white men, and slaves, as is well known, do but little work. Under such circumstances, we might, we think, fairly assume that the efficiency of southern labour was not more than half as much per head as that of northern labour; and, if so, as the population of the northern section is almost double that of the southern one, it would follow that the productive power of the North was four times greater than that of the South. And that it is not only so, but that the difference is even greater than this, can, as we think, readily be established. Commencing with the agricultural productions, we offer our readers the following facts derived from the census of 1850, begging them, once for all, to remark that, in the statements we shall furnish, the division between the North and South will be made in conformity with that of States and population given above:

	North'n States.	South'n States.
Wheat, bush.	89,000,000	20,000,000
Barley and Rye, bush.	17,000,000	1,000,000
Oats, bush.	105,000,000	45,000,000
Buckwheat, bush.	9,000,000	.....
Indian Corn, bush.	294,000,000	298,000,000
Potatoes, white and sweet, bush.	62,000,000	12,000,000
Rice, tuns.	.....	100,000
Cotton, tuns.	.....	500,000
Hay, tuns.	13,000,000	1,000,000
Butter and Cheese, tuns.	182,000	27,000
Hemp, tuns.	16,500	18,500
Wool, lbs.	42,000,000	10,000,000
Flax, lbs.	4,000,000	4,000,000
Tobacco, lbs.	53,000,000	146,000,000
Hops, lbs.	4,000,000	.....
Beeswax and Honey, lbs.	14,000,000	700,000
Maple Sugar, lbs.	32,000,000	2,000,000
Cane Sugar, lbs.	.....	247,000,000
Molasses, gallons	1,000,000	12,000,000
Orchard and Garden Products.	$12,000,000	$2,000,000
Animals slaughtered.	$62,000,000	$47,000,000

An examination of the above can scarcely fail to satisfy our readers that it is exceedingly inaccurate and unfavourable to the North. The export of animal food from the region north and west of the Ohio is twice, if not thrice, greater than that from the region south and east of it; while the quantity consumed in the North must be six times greater. Such is the case, too, with orchard and garden produce. A single cent per day, per head, expended by the people of New York, Brooklyn, and Philadelphia, would amount to over four millions of dollars, or one-third of the whole amount here set down for a population of fifteen millons of people. The cause of error at the North is, as we think, readily seen. Where there are thousands of small proprietors, from each of whom a statement is to be obtained, the difficulty is far greater than when a single person represents a family of one, two or three hundred hands, all of whose products go into one common treasury. Admitting, however, the returns to be correct, we will now furnish a comparative view of the products of the two different sections of the Union.

The northern excess of hay is twelve millions of tuns, and the southern product of cotton and rice is 600,000 tuns, or one-twentieth as much in quantity. The average value of the latter commodities being less than twenty times the average value of the former, it follows that the hay more than counterbalances the cotton and the rice. Hemp, flax and corn, as the reader sees, balance each other. Leaving these, then, out of view, we have the following excesses:

NORTH.

Wheat, bushels.	60,000,000
Rye and Barley, bush.	16,000,000
Oats, bush.	60,000,000
Buckwheat, bush.	9,000,000
Potatoes, bush.	50,000,000
Wool, lb.	32,000,000
Beeswax and Hay, lb.	13,000,000
Orchard and Garden Products.	$10,000,000
Butter and Cheese, tuns.	$155,000
Animals slaughtered.	15,000,000
Value.	$195,000,000

SOUTH.

Tobacco, lb.	93,000,000
Sugar, lb.	217,000,000
Molasses, gals.	11,000,000
Value.	$22,000,000

The total value of the principal products of Southern agriculture, for that year, is thus given in *De Bow's Review*, 3d series, vol. ii. p. 141:

	Exported.	Home Consumption.	Total Products.
Cotton	$71,984,616	$33,615,364	$105,600,000
Tobacco	9,951,223	5,048,777	15,000,000
Rice	2,631,887	400,000	3,031,887
Naval stores	1,142,713	800,000	1,942,713
Sugar	23,037	12,396,150	12,419,187
Hemp	5,633	690,206	695,840
Total	$85,739,109	$52,950,518	$138,689,627

The average value of Indian Corn for that year is given at 45 cents; but the distance from market and the difficulty of communication throughout the South reduce it below this average. If we take it at 33 cents per bushel, we shall probably be in excess of the truth, and this will give for the whole

Southern Crop	$98,000,000
Add to this for the Animals slaughtered	47,000,000
For the other Products of Agriculture	50,000,000
And we obtain as the total value of Agricultural Products	$333,689,627
If we now add to this, for Manufactures and for the Product of Labour in all other pursuits, one-half of this amount, say	$166,310,373
We obtain as the total Southern Product, exclusive of the Negroes raised, which constitute so important an item of Southern Produce.	$500,000,000

This, we think, is rather in excess of the truth, but if true, it would give an average product of about fifty dollars per head.

In comparing with this the northern product, it is to be borne in mind that the northern farmer is, in most cases, much nearer market, and always provided with much better means of intercourse. The corn that is worth, in Texas, fifteen cents, becomes worth sixty cents by the time it reaches Massachusetts, and the farmer of the latter obtains as much for one bushel as the farmer of the former obtains for four; and this is true, to a greater or less extent, with reference to all the products of agriculture. The prices of cotton, tobacco, rice, &c., above given, are their prices at the ports from which they are exported, and include all charges up to the time of shipment, even to warehouse rent and broker's commission on the sale.

To make a fair comparison of the agricultural operations of the two sections, it would be required to pursue a similar course with the North, taking the value of their products at the place of sale; and were this done, it would be found that the excess in that was so far greater than in quantity that it would be safe to estimate its agricultural production at much more than double the amount above given for the South, or at least $90,000,000, making a total somewhat exceeding $1,200,000,000.

The South, however, makes its exchanges but once in a year, while at the North, because of the proximity of markets, exchanges are repeated from month to month, throughout the year. The market gardener furnishes cabbages and potatoes, peas and beans, to the man who converts them into coal. Thence they go, as coal, to another, who converts them into pig-iron; thence to the rolling-mill, whence they come out as bars; thence to the shops, from which they come out as axes, spades, ploughs, or steam-engines; and thus there is a constant and unceasing motion in the produce of the North, and from this motion come the "power and gain," which by our southern friends are attributed to the Union. The manufactures of Massachusetts amount to not less than $150,000,000. Her shoe manufacture alone is 37,000,000. The manufactures of the City of New York, in 1850, amounted to $105,000,000, and those of Philadelphia were fully equal, and probably greater. Those of Cincinnati were $40,000,000. Pittsburgh and Cincinnati must now considerably exceed $100,000,000. At the present time they are all very far greater in amount. The iron trade, in its various departments, from the smelting of the ore to the finishing of the steam-engine, cannot be estimated at the present time at less than $130,000,000, nor the coal trade at less than $20,000,000. The manufacture of ships is more than $20,000,000; books, newspapers, magazines, and engravings, amount to many millions. Add to the infinite quantity of manufactures scattered throughout New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and other Northern States, the mining of lead and copper, the enormous product of lumber, the ice trade, the production of houses, the quantity of labour and manure applied to the improvement of land, while the South is everywhere exhausting its soil, and it will readily be seen how enormous is the production of the North as compared with that of the South. The earnings of canals, canal boats, and railroads are $80,000,000; and if we estimate the value of the property carried at only ten times the cost of transportion, we obtain $800,000,000. The tunnage of the North is little short of four millions, almost half a million of which is moved by steam; and if we take the gross earnings of this at only one dollar per ton, per month, we have nearly fifty millions, but it is probably not less than a hundred and fifty millions. The *net* value of the property transported on the lakes and rivers, by canals, in coasters, and on railroads, is estimated by Mr. Andrews, in his Report on the Colonial and Lake Trade (p. 905), at $3,120,000,000; but a very small proportion of which, as our readers have seen, comes from the South.

We here conclude for to-day our survey of these impressive and eloquent facts. We think our readers will agree that they show that the North is very powerful, and the South comparatively very weak, and that if either has reason to dread the day of dissolution, it is that which is oppressed and debilitated by the curse of Slavery. We shall next compare the effect of separation upon the commercial relations of the two sections.—*Tribune.*

SUBSTITUTE PROPOSED BY THE TROY CONFERENCE FOR THE "GENERAL RULE" ON SLAVERY.—At the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of Baltimore, on the 15th instant, Bishop Ames presented a memorial from the Troy Conference, asking the Baltimore Conference to recommend the General Conference to insert a prohibitory rule in the Discipline, forbidding "the buying and selling of human beings, except in view of emancipation, and the voluntary and mercenary holding of them in bondage." The Baltimore Conference refused to concur in the recommendation of the Troy Conference by a unanimous vote of all the members present, numbering 291.—*Albany Atlas.*

We are right glad that the Troy Conference has taken the initiative in this movement. As the question makes its way into more northern latitudes, it will be likely to meet with a different response. The policy which Baltimore pursued in this instance is her standing policy, and the fruits of it are beginning to develop themselves in uncomfortable abundance. The congressional corruption, and unfathomable political treachery, which now stare the people in the face, are legitimate results of attempted clerical evasion on this great subject.

It is time that the Church delivered her testimony against Slavery in terms not to be mistaken, and supported that testimony by deeds equally unequivocal. The do-nothing, hope-so method of curing the evil has been too long tried. If the Baltimore Conference, with Fugitive Slave Laws, and Nebraska bills pouring down upon it, is disposed to hold on to this always rotten plank, we are quite sure that many other conferences will not. We fully believe that nineteen-twentieths of the M. E. Church, out of the Baltimore Conference, concur with the memorial of the Troy Conference. It is time that all the conferences took action on the subject. Perhaps even now the neglect of the Church, and especially our own branch of it, has fatally misled the nation. We have refused to reaffirm our own early acts expressive of abhorrence against Slavery, and the world, perceiving the Church quiescent, concludes no longer to battle the rampant spirit of pro-slavery. The light that should have guided the world has become darkness, and how great is that darkness! —*Northern Christian Advocate.*

DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE.

A CORRESPONDENT of the (Cincinnati) *Christian Press* communicates the following painful incident, to which he was a witness, in a letter to that paper, dated Lexington, Ky.

BRO. BOYNTON: Having seen notices of public sales of slaves, as they are usually given in the slave States, similar to the enclosed, which, if you please, you can print,* illustrative of the demoralizing influence of the "accursed institution," I thought it might be of some good to the cause of humanity to relate an occurrence which came under my own personal observation—one which will enable many of the readers of your paper better to judge of the enormous fraud necessarily employed in carrying out the legitimate working of the system of involuntary servitude. In my present tour I chanced to find myself at the "Lee House," in Maysville, with other fellow travellers, awaiting the usual signal, "stage ready, all aboard." On taking my seat in the stage, I found seated on the front seat a coloured woman, holding in her arms a beautiful bright-eyed boy, about twelve months old, and by her side two coloured girls, one about thirteen and the other fifteen years of age. On receiving the usual signal, "all right," the driver gave a crack of his whip, and we soon found ourselves winding our way up the steep eminence over which the road passes, on leaving the town of Maysville. But not to digress. The subject of this narrative is the coloured woman, noticed above—the mother of the fine looking boy, and, I have since learned, of two other children of the ages of about two and five years, which were not with her. She was one, only, of the unfortunates of her race, who have acquired a sufficient amount of information to converse with a considerable degree of intelligence. Having a book in my hand, she asked if she might take it. To my inquiry if she could read, she replied in the affirmative. She was about twenty-five years of age, half white, with a countenance expressive of the anguished heart within. Not a tear was seen to moisten her eye as she bid farewell to the many coloured people who were watching to recognise her as the stage left the town. On arriving at the first village, four miles from Maysville, the stage door was suddenly opened and a voice heard to say, "There she is, I bought her and child for eleven hundred dollars." Another voice replied, "He was d—d mean, else he would let me had her," and the door was slammed to. The poor woman then said, "No, he won't, for he wanted me to go down the river, but my master would not sell me to go down the river—he had to sell my husband, and he would only sell me to go out and live by Lexington, where my husband is owned—he sold him one year ago, and now I am going to meet him again—I wanted the man to buy my other two children, but he said 'her old master would not let them go.'"

In making the change from the stage to the omnibus which took us down to the depot, at Paris, I found myself seated by the side of a young man, who immediately began conversation with the woman's new master, and from their conversation I learned that there was a gang of "niggers," as they called them, to be started from Louisville the first of the week, to go down the river.

On leaving the omnibus, the woman, with her child and the youngest girl (for the older one was left at Paris), was told by their new master to go into the cars with this young man, while he put her bed and trunk into the baggage car. They seated themselves in the rear end of the car. I occupied the first seat in front of them. The woman expressed some anxiety about the bed and trunk, and the young man quieted her fears by telling her that the old man was putting them aboard, &c. Would it surprise you to know that the new master had left, and that this young man was prepared to pay her fare?—or that she had been deceived all this time with the promise that she was going to see her husband, the father of her children? I presume not. Neither would it be strange that the poor woman began to manifest her doubts whether she was really going to meet her husband, as she had been made believe, and that she had been bought for the master of her husband.

Now she began to enquire of her new attendant, if he was going to take her over to Mr. ——, with whom her husband lives. What, think you, was her consternation when she was told that he knew nothing about her husband or the man who owned him? She shed no tears, but she enquired, with a frantic expression of her eyes—"you are not going to lock me up in the jail to-night, are you?"

"No; you will stay to-night where there is lots of boys and girls, and you can have as much fun as you want," at the same time reaching his hand back and taking hold of the hair of the young girl's head, saying to her, "If you don't look out and keep your wool combed better, you will get it pulled." As they left the cars, their attendant told them to keep together, or he "would tread on their nigger heels." I waited and they passed up from the cars, in front of me, into the main street; the woman received in answer to her anxious enquiry where he was going to put them, a surly "come along." Had she known one Lewis Roberts, a slave dealer, whose human shambles are within the sound of more than three church bells, and but a short distance from the court-house of Bourbon County, she would have no need to ask such a question. My heart sickened at what I had seen and heard, and I turned away. Need any be told that the last ray of joy and hope was thus stolen from these poor, unoffending things, and that too by the sanction of law? yes, law made by the citizens of the proudest State of this boasted land of Freedom—the State which the "Hon. Mr. Crittenden said, in an address to his constituents at Louisville, who had elected him to the Senate for the sixth time, an honour which he believed no other citizen of this republic could boast, and which he mentioned not in personal vanity, but to show that he had abundant cause for the profound gratitude, which he laboured to express, but could find no language to convey; and in referring to Kentucky, he declared that he gloried in her most for her devotion to the Union, and felt proud to believe that when he stood up to represent her in the Senate of the United States, he should represent a State without an Abolitionist or a Free Soiler, in all its borders." What true republican and Christian man does not blush with shame for his country, when he reflects that the arm of this Republic is sustaining this great iniquity. Scenes like these sadden the heart.

* NEGRO WOMAN FOR SALE.—A negro woman about 30 years of age, a good cook, washer and ironer, and faithful servant, is offered for sale. She is sold for no fault. Enquire of the Editor.

jan. 25 83-tf

FOR HIRE.—I have several Farm Hands to hire for the present year. I wish them to be hired only in the country, and not out of the neighbourhood. Apply to me at my farm on the Newtown Turnpike, seven miles from Lexington.

jan. 25 83-tf ELIZA B. COLEMAN.

A FAST ARTICLE.

THERE are fast nations, fast parties, fast ministers, and fast men generally, as well as fast days. There are fast editors, also, though we are not of them. Indeed this may be styled a fast age; and this week is not the only nor the fastest week of the year. There were six fast weeks, for instance, in the United States Senate, not long ago. During these weeks, southern politicians discovered the entire unconstitutionality of a law which they or their fathers enacted thirty-four years ago, and which during all the time since they have sworn was as constitutional as the Constitution itself. In those six weeks, Southern integrity disappeared from the public sight, and the chivalric men who would fight with rifles at the slightest intimation against their honour, stood forth as the political swindlers and repudiators, confidence men, pocketbook droppers, pannel thieves and Peter Funks of the country. A grand metempsychosis seems to have taken place, or perhaps it is only a phase of the spiritual phenomenon. Jonathan Wild and the Count La Ruse are speaking through the mouths of North Carolina Badger and Virginia Mason. And as the veracious Fielding relates that Jonathan and the Count, "though they knew each other to be thieves, never gave the least hint of this knowledge in their discourse together, but on the contrary had the words honesty, honour and friendship as often in their mouths as any other men," the chivalric tone of Badger & Co., while engaged in robbing the people of the North, of country sufficient for a commonsized empire, renders it altogether probable that Jonathan and his friend are merely in a more advanced sphere using their triumphant genius in the plundering of States instead of the picking of pockets. Yes, it must be so. As Wordsworth says:

> "The soul that rises with us, our life's star
> Has had elsewhere a sitting
> And cometh from afar;"

and your slaveholding Senator is but a poorly disguised thief, recently from Newgate or Botany Bay.

Then there is Douglas of Illinois, decidedly a fast man. Not indeed a *traitor*, as he is called by those vulgar people who are hanging and burning good straw and unexceptionable broadcloth for the sake of doing him disbonour. *Arnold* Douglas they call him, and they say Arnold is really his second name. Arnold was a bad man and died poor and despised, but why pursue him beyond the grave by lugging before the public the fact that the Illinois miscreant bears his name? Is this Arnold's fault? No, no, no! We protest against such a spirit of detraction. Let the dead traitor rest. Our business is with the living. Douglas, we said, is no traitor. Whom has he betrayed? Does he not fairly represent a State which enacted the inhuman black laws? Is he not a fair representative of the office-seeking doughface democracy of the North and West? To be sure he is. He is a very fast specimen of the very youngest and vilest America. How rapid has his downfall been. Born in a respectable town in Vermont, he was probably guilty of nothing worse than robbing orchards, playing truant, swearing, lying and petty larceny. Many such boys have made tolerably respectable men. But Douglas goes to the West and gets into bad company; rapidly sinks from the position of a mechanic to that of a member of the House of Representatives; from this the transition is easy to the United States Senate, and unless his headlong course is arrested, he will end his days as a poor miserable President or Ex-President of the United States. Has the fate of John Tyler, Millard Filmore and Frank Pierce no power to warn him of the impending ruin?

Among the *slow* men, Mr. Everett is a specimen worth noticing. Why, thirty years ago, he went so far as to volunteer his services to put down a slave insurrection. This was long before the Boston merchants formed the corps of minute men to send Sims into Slavery. When Governor of Massachusetts, he went for indicting the Abolitionists. But since then he has been fast and slow by intermittent stages. His fillibustering speeches at Plymouth and elsewhere showed progress, but he rapidly fell back, and is now so very slow that he would have actually voted against reducing the Western part of the continent to Slavery, if he had not been too ill to remain in his seat. No man begun with fairer prospects of a fair career. If he had held out, we should have had him to day presenting a proposition to revive the African slave trade. However, he bids fair to be saved from the miserable fate which seems to be in store for Douglas.

There are fast parties. The Democratic party is fast going

submitting to it. Slow though we confess ourselves to be in such things, we would like to see new resolutions formed on this Fast week of Governor Washburn, so that we may not feel obliged again to write a fast day sermon.—*Dedham (Mass.) Democrat.*

SOUTHERN NEBRASKA.

"It is very bad and very wicked to disturb the Missouri compromise, because it is a breach of faith. But it cannot affect at all the question of Slavery, because the climate is such that Southern men will never go there with their negroes. Slavery can never flourish there to any extent, but it is very wrong to renew this dreadful agitation again." So we heard a very intelligent gentleman reasoning the other day. So, then, this Nebraska question has been opened just for politicians to exercise themselves in debate; the statesmen of 1820 contended and bargained about a mere abstraction; and the idea that it is an abstraction now would be pretty likely to take all the strength and nerve out of the opposition to the Nebraska scheme.

Some of us remember that we went to school once and studied geography. If, reader, you have a good Atlas, which every man ought to have, please take it and draw a pencil line from the Northwest corner of the State of Missouri due west to the Rocky Mountains. You have then south of that line a portion of the Nebraska territory, all lying in the latitude of five slave States, viz., Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland and Delaware. It is so large that you could put *fifteen States* like Massachusetts right into it, and yet have some margin to spare. It is threaded by noble rivers, rolling through vast valleys of rich virgin soil, which nothing but slave cultivators can ever exhaust or impoverish. Fremont, who passed through it in 1841, describes it as an immense agricultural region of undefinable resources. It has vast and fertile table lands, and, though the Rocky Mountains rise up on the extreme western border as condensers of the moisture and as coolers of the atmosphere, the middle and eastern portion does not suffer from drought, enjoys a mild climate, and has golden weather for a month at a time. It is just such territory as Slavery now overruns and possesses. We have never heard that the slaves or planters froze to death in Virginia, Kentucky or Missouri. Slavery will be sure to creep up those beautiful rivers and spread itself out over their margin, and up the table lands, and so preoccupy the country, whenever the way is clear, unless something beyond human foresight occurs to prevent. Whether something might not interpose, whether the passage of the Nebraska bill could not so effectually sweep away all former compromises whatever, by which the discussion of Slavery is now held in restraint, and bring on a tremendous reaction, is what some fear and others hope, but which time alone will decide. It is enough just now that, viewed in its moral bearings, the question presents just these two alternatives—whether a vast and fertile territory as large as fifteen States like ours shall be cultivated by men under the lash, or the fear of it, and kept degraded for the purpose; or whether free labour shall open its immense resources and dot it all over with schools and churches, where man's whole nature may be developed and God's whole gospel may be proclaimed. This alternative is presented, even supposing that Slavery can never travel farther North than it now is, and that northern and middle Nebraska are too cold for it to live in—of which no one can be sure.—*Christian Register.*

WHAT IS COMING?

To our utter astonishment, there seems to be a depth of political depravity below the reach even of the present Senate. The Gadsden Treaty, proposing to give Santa Anna Fifteen Millions wherewith to uphold and conserve his tottering despotism, and certain speculators in paper railroads Five Millions more—all to be taken out of the Federal Treasury in payment for a narrow strip of rocky desert along our Southern borders—worth perhaps one hundred thousand dollars—will not go down. The Five Millions will not carry it through, even though laid out with the nicest regard to economy. Whereupon one of the feed advocates of the treaty, writing to a Southern journal, threatens the North with fearful retribution, as follows:

"So obstinate is the hostility of Northern Senators to the extension of territory southward and slavery-ward, that they will not vote for the treaty, even if the twenty-million inducements should be stricken out. The result of the rejection of the treaty may be, according to the views of some of our fillibusters, the entire disorganization of the Mexican Government and the destruction of every power with which we could make a treaty. In this case, *our south and south-western people will soon be obliged to take Mexico upon their hands, and the short-sighted politicians of the North will be the means of creating slaveholding communities in all Spanish North America, from El Paso down to the Isthmus of Darien.*

"Another treaty will be attempted, but it cannot be made. Santa Anna will throw himself on other resources, appealing to the nationality of Mexico for support, and courting also foreign alliances. War on one side, or fillibusterism on the other, will soon give us the whole of Mexico, as the alternative to a recognition of her national rights by her sister Republic."

—When the Annexation of Texas was first made a rallying cry, a leading Southern politician proclaimed "that Slavery shall yet pour itself out without restraint and find no limit this side of the Pacific." That purpose was checked in the organization of California, but it has never been abandoned. It will be prosecuted under Government patronage so far as that shall prove practicable; but whenever that fails, then by conspiracy and fillibustering of the Lone Star pattern. Either the Slave Power must be crippled, or it will absorb the whole of Mexico and make a dozen new slave States of it. It rests occasionally, but sleeps never.—*Tribune.*

Missouri.—The people of this offspring of the "Missouri Compromise" (says the *Tribune*), appear to be opposed to a disturbance of that compact now. In reference to the steady organization of a Government for the Territory west of Missouri, Mr Gardenhire, the present Attorney-General of Mobile, writes to the St. Joseph Convention:

"To oppose the organization of Nebraska until the Missouri Compromise is repealed, is substantially to oppose it forever. The dullest politician cannot fail to see that its repeal, under existing circumstances, is impossible. An overwhelming majority are in favour of it upon principle, while perhaps a majority of the minority are unwilling to see it disturbed, and the exciting themes connected with it let loose again upon the community. Such opposition is not only equivalent to unconditional hostility, but brings to life and animation again Slavery agitation, with all its fiery and exciting elements, which, when firmly seated in the public mind, shakes the Union as the forest in a tempest, and ought to be avoided by all good citizens—North and South—as mariners avoid the reef on the perilous deep."

We here give an extract from the letter addressed to the Convention by the Hon. Willard P. Hall, author of the bill for the organization of the Territories, introduced at the last session of Congress:

"If Nebraska be organized our citizens will settle it, and as the Missouri Compromise prohibits Slavery within its limits, it is contended that the result will be the erection of one more free State west of Missouri. But it is equally true that the construction of a railroad through Nebraska will settle it also. Are we then ready to say that the Pacific Railroad shall not start from the Western frontier unless the Missouri Compromise is repealed?

"What are we to gain by agitating the repeal of that measure? The strength of the free States as compared with the slave States was less than now; and the spirit of modern Abolitionism was almost unknown. And yet the Missouri Compromise was the best thing that the men of that day were able to accomplish for the slaveholding States. What, then, I repeat, are we to gain by agitating its repeal? Nothing better for ourselves. But we may enable agitators to raise the cry of repeal against the compromise measures of 1850, and perchance enable them to sweep the Fugitive Slave law from our statute book. I can see nothing desirable in all this to the people of Missouri."

Messrs. Gardenhire and Hall are both influential Democrats. The organ of the Democracy at St. Louis, the *Daily Democrat*, speaks out in the same vein, and rebukes the Atchisons and Douglases who are retarding the great interests of the West by their efforts to repeal the Missouri Compromise. The *Democrat* says:

"Look at the results of Douglas's bill. The object which ostensibly it purported to accomplish, but which in reality it intended to prevent, and which all men interested in the Territories deemed certain and near at hand, has receded far into the future, and, instead of a certainty, has become a possibility. Unless a counter movement takes place in Congress immediately, we assert that the interests of the Union, and those of Missouri in particular, involved in the speedy construction of the Pacific Railroad, will have been set back for years. Progress will run away, and legitimate enterprise will turn from the great undertaking in which it has toiled with such success, and degenerate into Walker expeditions. Shut out the great and wild but teeming Territories of the West from the eagle eye of enterprise, and it will bend its gaze upon the South. Debar it from using the implements of industry, and it will take to its heart the ethics and to its hands the weapons of fillibusterism. Who will be responsible for this? Undoubtedly the men whom we have named. Already they have applied a galvanic battery, in the shape of a proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise, to the most sensitive nerve in the system, and the whole body politic has thrilled and shaken under the reckless experiment. It is true the result will be as fatal to the fortunes of the authors of the bill as to the material and moral interests of the West. The infirm ambition of Stephen Arnold Douglas could now as easily make him Czar of all the Russias as President of the United States. Senator Atchison, on whose spirit is the shadow of the coming event, is contemplating emigrating with his household, composed, we believe, exclusively of negroes. We should be sorry to say that the people of Platte County or the bush-rangers of Texas will suffer by the transfer of the Vice President's household gods. But the Administration has also suffered, for it grappled with the spirit of Freedom, and, like Jacob wrestling with the angel, it has been crippled in the contest."

"A CASE FOR SYMPATHY."

Another Fugitive.—A negro man, belonging to Mr. Richard Doyle, made his escape to the North a few days ago. He had been a corn-measurer for some time. We are called upon to announce almost daily the loss of this species of property. The community of Norfolk and vicinity have, within the last twelve months, sustained a loss of over $30,000 of slave property by the aid of Abolitionists, and are now large stockholders in this kind of property north of Mason & Dixon's Line. We would ask if New Bedford, Boston, or any other community of Abolitionists were losers in any kind of property, would they sit so quietly, and not call for redress from the "powers that be?" It is time that the South should take some action. Forbearance has ceased to be a virtue.—*Norfolk Beacon, 31st ult.*

1. This is a case which shows the want of religious instruction among slaves. Have they read their Bibles? Have they read the Constitution? Do they not know the wickedness of running away from their masters? A copy of Dr. Spring's "First Things" might be abridged, for circulation South—a *plantation edition.* The Tract Society and the Sunday-school Union issue *plantation editions* of other works, why not of this? At any rate, as soon as the Nebraska matter has been settled by that sober second thought of the North, which the *Journal of Commerce* was confident would soon reverse the *apparent* indignation of the North, ought not the Southern Aid Society to send a missionary to Norfolk and neighbourhood?

2. Southern families, in their summer residence at the North, delectate us with assurances of the fondness of their slaves. Why, they would scorn liberty, if offered to them! The abstraction is only fit for white folks. Are the slaves about Norfolk of a different breed?

3. As a remedy for this peripatetic tendency of their contented slaves, we would suggest to our noble brothers of the South, *disunion.* That would cure everything. They could then keep their slaves so much better, or get them so much easier.

4. As to the question proposed to *Boston* and *New Bedford*, what they would do, if suffering a like affliction? we shall not anticipate the answer which these cities will, of course, make. We only express an opinion, that New England, and the North generally, is very apt, when in trouble, to appeal to the farm, the work-shop, and to every form of ingenious industry, and *not* to the "powers that be." This is the difference between the North and the South.—*H. W. Beecher, in the Independent.*

EXTRACTS

From the Reply of Senator Douglas to the Proceedings of the Anti-Nebraska Clergymen of Chicago.

Washington, April 6, 1854.

Reverend Gentlemen: I acknowledge your kind consideration, in sending me the proceedings of the public meeting composed of twenty-five clergymen of the city of Chicago opposed to the Nebraska bill. These proceedings consist of a protest "in the name of Almighty God" against the passage of the Nebraska bill, and signed by yourselves "as citizens and as ministers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ;" and also of four resolutions, which are stated to have been adopted with but one dissenting voice. The last of these resolutions is as follows:

4th. That in the debate recently held in the Senate of the United States upon the presentation of the memorial of the clergy of New England, we greatly deplore the apparent want of courtesy and reverence towards men and God, manifest especially in the speeches of the Senators from Illinois and Indiana; and that we regard the whole tone and spirit of that debate, on the part of the opponents of said memorial as an outrage upon the privileges of a large and respectable body of citizens, upon the dignity of the Senate and upon the claims of the divine name, word and institutions, to which we owe profoundest honour and reverence.

Here I am distinctly and "especially" charged with "the apparent want of courtesy and reverence towards man and God," in the performance of my public duties in the Senate. This is a grave charge, whether preferred against a private individual or a public man, and one which should not have been made recklessly and without sufficient authority. If unsupported by evidence, and contradicted by the records, its enormity is greatly aggragated by the startling fact that it emanates from "ministers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ," professing to speak "in the name of Almighty God," and by his authority. When you shall read that debate carefully, you will be surprised at the injustice you have done me by attributing to me the language which I found it necessary to quote, for the purpose of comment, from the protest signed by the three thousand and fifty clergymen of New England. I agree that the language quoted was "wanting in courtesy and reverence to man and God," and it was for that reason I called the attention of the Senate and the country to the astounding fact that any body of men, calling themselves clergymen, or by any other name, in this age and in this country, would presume to claim that they were authorized by the Almighty, and in his name, to pronounce an authoritative judgment upon a political question pending before the Congress of the United States. If you had attributed this language to its true authors, and directed your censure against them, instead of me, who but quoted to expose it, I should have united with you in saying that it did manifest an "apparent want of courtesy" to the Senate, and "reverence to God."

After defending himself and the Senate at great length against the charge brought by the Chicago Clergymen, Judge Douglas quotes their first resolution and comments upon it as follows:

Resolved—1. That the ministry is the divinely appointed institution for the declaration and enforcement of God's will upon all points of moral and religious truth, and that as such, it is their duty to reprove, rebuke and exhort, with all authority and doctrine.

This resolution appears to have been adopted by you at an Anti-Nebraska meeting (composed exclusively of clergymen, twenty five in number), and called for the purpose of considering that question and none other. It was adopted in connection with the protest, and forms some of the same transaction. The protest denounces the Nebraska bill "in the name of Almighty God" as "a great moral wrong"—"as a breach of faith eminently injudicious to the moral principle of the community," and, "as exposing us to the righteous judgments of the Almighty." The resolution declares "that the ministry is the divinely appointed institution for the declaration and enforcement of God's will upon all points of moral and religious truth?" Do not the protest and resolution refer to the same question, to wit the Nebraska bill now pending before Congress? Surely you will not deny that such was your understanding. You assembled to consider that question and none other. You acted upon that subject and that alone. Your resolutions were declaratory to the extent of your rights and powers as clergymen, and your protest was your action in conformity with those assumed rights and powers.

I understand, then, your position to be this: That you are "ministers of the Gospel;" that "the ministry is the divinely appointed institution for the declaration and enforcement of God's will upon all points of moral and religious truth;" that this "divinely appointed institution" is empowered "to declare" what questions of a civil, political, judicial or legislative character do involve "points of moral and religious truth;" that the Nebraska bill does involve such "points," and is, therefore, one of the questions upon which it is the duty of this "divinely appointed institution" to "declare and enforce God's will;" and that, clothed with "all authority and doctrine," this "divinely appointed institution" proceeds to issue its mandates to the Congress of the United States "in the name of Almighty God." This being your position, I must be permitted to say to you, in all Christian kindness, that I differ with you widely, radically and fundamentally in respect to the nature and extent of your rights, duties and powers as ministers of the Gospel. If the claims of this "divinely appointed institution" shall be enforced, and the various public functionaries shall yield their judgments to your supervision, and their consciences to your keeping, there will be no limit to your temporal power, except your own wise discretion and virtuous forbearance. If your "divinely appointed institution" has the power to prescribe the mode and terms for the organization of Nebraska, I see no reason why your authority may not be extended over the entire continent, not only to the country which we now possess, but to all which may hereafter be acquired.

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Your claims for the supremacy of this divinely appointed institution are subversive of the fundamental principle upon which our whole republican system rests. What the necessity of a Congress, if you can supervise and direct its conduct? Why should the people subject themselves to the trouble and expense of electing legislatures for the purpose of enacting human laws, if their validity depends upon the sanction of your divine authority? Why sustain a vast and complex judicial system to expound the laws, administer justice, and determine all dispute in respect to human rights, if your divinely appointed institution is vested with all authority to prescribe the rule of decision in the name of the Deity? If your pretentions be just and valid why not dispense with all the machinery of human government and subject ourselves freely and unreservedly, together with all our temporal and spiritual interests and hopes, to the justice and mercy of this divinely appointed institution?

Our fathers held that the people were the only true source of all political power; but what avails the position, if the constituted authorities established by the people are to be controlled and directed, not by their own judgment, not by the will of their constituents, but by the divinely constituted power of the clergy? Does it not follow that this great principle, recognised and affirmed in the Constitution of the United States and of every State of this Union, is thus virtually annulled, and the representatives of the people converted into machines in the hands of an all controlling priesthood?

After several columns more of legal and constitutional argumentation, Judge Douglas thus concludes:

Thus, you see that the principle of the Nebraska bill is purely a question of self-government, involving the right and capacity of the people to make their own laws and manage their own local and domestic concerns. This is the only controverted principle involved in the bill. I am unwilling to believe that, upon mature reflection, and with all the advantages which your Christian character and experience may enable you to summon to your assistance, you will sanction the declaration that a proposition to carry this principle into effect is a "great moral wrong, exposing us to the righteous judgments of the Almighty."

It is the principle upon which the thirteen colonies separated from the imperial government. It is the principle in defence of which the battles of the Revolution were fought. It is the principle to which all our free institutions owe their existence, and upon which our entire republican system rests. This great principle is recognised and affirmed in the Constitution and bill of rights of every State in this Union as the corner stone in the temple of our liberties. It was under the operation of this principle that Slavery retired from the New England States. It was in obedience to its potential influence that Slavery disappeared from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. It was by virtue of this principle that California came into the Union with her free constitution. It is in obedience to this principle that Slavery is excluded from all the free States of this Union; and I trust that, whenever, in God's providence, it shall cease in the States where it now exists, it may cease under the operation of this principle, and none other.

In conclusion, reverend gentlemen, permit me to say to you, in all kindness and sincerity, that it is with extreme reluctance that I submit this vindication of my character and position against the assaults which, I conceive, you have so unjustly made upon them. My respect for your holy calling would induce me to submit in silence even to an unmerited rebuke, in preference to engaging in a controversy with ministers of the Gospel in any case where duty did not compel me to speak. The act for which you have arraigned me were a part of my official duty in the performance of a high public trust, for which I am responsible to my State, to the Constitution, and to my God. The principle which it has been my aim to carry into effect, and for the support of which I have incurred your displeasure, is the one to which all the institutions of our State, and of each other State of this confederacy, owe their existence, and for the protection and preservation of which the Constitution of the United States was formed. With my conscientious convictions of the nature of the trust confided to my hands, I cannot doubt that fidelity to that principle and fidelity to that Constitution will carry with it the blessings of Heaven.

I have the honour to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, S. A. Douglas.

To the Reverend Messrs. A. M. Stewart, Henry Klamer, A. Kengon, James E. Wilson, C. Wenz, George L. Mulfinger, Timpson Guyer, R. H. Richardson, S. Bolles, T. V. Watson, W. A. Nichols, Joseph H. Leonard, J. McNamara, J. M. Weed, J. Sinclair, E. M. Gammon, John C. Holbrook, A. H. Eggleston, Paul Anderson, Harvey Curtiss, John Clark, R. F. Shinn, Luther Stone, A. W. Henderson, and —— Fitch.

THE SLAVE TRADE—CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES.

In the House of Commons, Sir G. Pechell moved an address to Her Majesty for returns of all vessels, their names and tonnage, seized (on suspicion of being engaged in the slave trade), and of Her Majesty's ships and vessels employed on the coast of Cuba for the prevention of the slave trade, from the 28th day of July, 1853 (the last return), to the latest dates. The House had appointed a Committee last session to inquire into the amount paid by this country for the suppression of the slave trade, and the manner in which the various treaties existing on the subject were carried into effect. That committee, after obtaining very valuable evidence, came to the unanimous conclusion that Spain ought to be required, as far as possible, to carry out the treaties into which she had entered with this country for the suppression of the slave trade. The Government of Brazil had already yielded to the representations made to them by Her Majesty's Government. It was shown, however, before the Committee, that the continued existence of the slave trade was mainly attributable to its encouragement in the island of Cuba, for, though the Captains-Generals of that island had professed to endeavour to carry out existing treaties, it was notorious that they had connived at the landing of slaves. It was stated by Captain Hamilton, one of the witnesses examined before the Committee, that, in his opinion, if the slave trade with Cuba could be prevented, the whole of our cruisers on the coast of Africa might very safely be withdrawn. The present Captain-General of Cuba, since the report of the Committee had reached him, had expressed his determination to use all the exertions in his power to put a stop to the slave trade. He (Sir G Pechell) thought, then, that this was the time for Her Majesty's Government to take the Captain General at his word, and to test his sincerity by keeping up the small naval squadron stationed on the shores of Cuba. In 1852 this country had upon that station six sailing vessels and four steamers, which would be amply sufficient to suppress the traffic, if they were properly managed; but in this number was included the flagship, a vessel of 74 guns, which, instead of remaining on the Cuban coast, was at Halifax during one-half of the year, and at Burmuda during the greater part of the other half-year. He (Sir G. Pechell) hoped that the squadron would be maintained on the coast of Cuba, and that it would be placed under efficient superintendence. £3,981,941 had been laid out by this country, besides the expense of the cruisers, to put down the slave trade, and he trusted that no portion of our ships would be withdrawn from the coast of Cuba, where the slave trade was now concentrated. The Government should show that they could combat, not only the Emperor of Russia, but the slave dealer also.

Mr Hume supported the motion.

Mr. Baillie supported the motion. It was essential that the fraudulent and faithless conduct of the Spanish Government should no longer be permitted. Most assuredly, unless she fulfilled her engagements with us, and took care that Cuba should no longer be the grand, and indeed sole seat of the slave trade, which she had undertaken to suppress, she could not fairly complain *if England took no measures to prevent Cuba from falling into the hands of the Americans.*

Sir J. Graham said that, though he could not at all concur in the proposition that, by way of collateral argument, we were to hand over Cuba to the United States; the endeavours of our cruisers both on the coast of Cuba and on the coast of Africa should be, if possible, augmented, and every means used for securing the real co operation of the authorities of Cuba (hear).

Mr. Cobden pointed out that the hon. member for Inverness had not proposed that we should hand over Cuba to the United States, but simply suggested that if Spain, despite her solemn engagements to the contrary, persisted in allowing Cuba to be the focus of the slave trade, *she could not call upon us to interfere between her and the United States in any course the latter Power might adopt for the acquisition of the Island.* He wished to guard himself distinctly from the expression of any opinion as to whether it would be just or right for America to buy Cuba, for he believed that they were more likely to become possessed of it by that means than any other; but he thought, if they really attached so much importance to the suppression of the slave trade as they had always asserted, and as past experience had demonstrated, *they would be guilty of great inconsistency if they were to offer to defend by their arms the right of Spain to that Island.* He could not imagine anything more calculated to make the Spanish Government persevere in the course she had always adopted with reference to the slave trade than to allow her to entertain a hope that we would interfere to prevent America from becoming possessed of the Island of Cuba (hear, hear). The Spanish Government ought to be made to understand that, by pursuing the policy she had chosen, disregarding, as she did, the doctrines of civilization and humanity by continuing the slave trade, she was fast losing the respect and sympathy of every nation of the civilized world, and preparing the way for some stronger power to take possession of that Island which she had so scandalously abused. The hon. baronet had said that Slavery existed in the United States. That was true, but the slave trade did not exist there (hear, hear). The United States had declared the slave trade to be piracy, and it was not quite candid to put that nation on a par with Spain in keeping up that odious traffic (hear, hear). Without saying one word about the expediency of giving Cuba to the United States, or assisting that country to take possession of the Island, *he thought it would be greatly for the interests of humanity if the United States, or any other power that would altogether discountenance the slave trade, should possess it* (cheers).

Captain Scobell hoped they were not about to throw a bone of contention before the public, to be carried across the water and create ill will. He could say nothing of the wisdom or otherwise of the Spaniards being allowed to retain Cuba, but he did thank the Government for every effort they had made to suppress the slave trade; and he hoped the House would never forget that it was very long before the friends of the Abolition of that traffic could carry the measure through Parliament.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to Sydney Howard Gay, New York.

Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to Francis Jackson, Treasurer, at Boston; or to Sydney Howard Gay, New York.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 22, 1854.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twentieth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the City of New York, in the Rev. Dr. Chapin's Church, in Broadway, between Spring and Prince Streets, on Wednesday, May 10th, 1854, at 10 o'clock, A.M. The names of the speakers will be announced hereafter.

The Society will hold meetings for Business and Discussion (in some hall yet to be procured) on the evening following the public Anniversary and on the succeeding Thursday and Friday, May 11th and 12th.

The members and friends of the Society far and near are earnestly invited to be present at the public Anniversary and to give us the benefit of their counsel and co-operation at the subsequent meetings. The condition of the country in relation to the Anti-Slavery Agitation will present for the consideration of the Society topics of the gravest importance affecting its future action; hence a large attendance is desirable.

Edmund Quincy, S. H. Gay, Wendell Phillips, } Secretaries.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Pres.

THE ANNIVERSARY.

We trust that our readers bear in mind that the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society is to be held in New York on the Tenth of next month. It is a thing they should not forget, and remembering, which they should not fail attend to in proper time. A large attendance on that occasion is what the Abolitionists owe to the cause and to themselves. The eyes of friends and enemies, and of those that are not exactly either the one or the other, will be open to see the extent and quality of the demonstration which we shall then make. Of its quality we have no doubt. No more has the public. It is now a matter perfectly well understood and conceded that "Eloquence is a drug in the Anti-Slavery Meetings." But there is an impression abroad that the constituent particles of such meetings, aside from the public that come with itching ears for the excellency of speech that they seldom miss of, are not very numerous. Now this should be set right. It is true, that the Abolitionists do not constitute a very large proportion of the inhabitants of the United States of America; but there are plenty within twenty-four hours of New York to make a very good show in Dr. Chapin's Church and at the Business Meetings to come after the Anniversary. We do not expect to astonish or overawe the country by the imposing masses that we may concentrate; but we may make the country feel that there is a large body of earnest and resolute men and women, well united in opinion and well organized in action, that are determined that Slavery shall have neither rest nor comfort. And this is the main object of Anti-Slavery Agitation.

We do not suppose that we shall abolish Slavery by converting a majority of the voters of the country to precisely the views held by the American Anti-Slavery Society, and inducing them to carry them out just as we should like to have them. For, not to mention anything else, our political machine is so adjusted that the conversion of Six Million Nine Hundred Thousand voters would be perfectly immaterial as long as the odd Hundred Thousand, who own Slaves, chose to block its wheels. Nothing but Revolution can reach such a monstrous oligarchic tyranny as is hid under the parchment of the Constitution. Revolution, in one shape or another, will have to cure it. It need not be a bloody one. It may be one extorted by the fear of bloodshed, rather than its presence; but it must be one that changes the fundamental principles of the government. Such a Revolution grows up from out the hearts and minds of the people that live under the Government that is to go down. It cannot be forced. It may be fostered and promoted, and that by perfectly righteous and just means. This is precisely the object why the American Anti-Slavery Society exists. It is to let the people know what it is that they are doing—ignorantly, many of them, but still doing in the most effectual way. It is to show them the punishment that already waits upon them and which must needs grow heavier and heavier as Time grows older. It is to make them see that the remedy is in their own hands, that the fault is not "in their stars, but in themselves, that they are underlings" to Slaveholders; and to point out to them a way of escape.

Now, it is of precisely such modes of operating on human minds that the despots of all countries dread. It is the consciousness of the danger to which a full exposure of the evils of tyranny, and of its weakness, and of the ways in which it is accessible, would expose it, that establishes the Censorship of the Press in the Old World, which gives warnings to the newspapers of Paris and stops them, if the warnings be not heeded. It is this consciousness which establishes a virtual censorship of the press throughout the whole Southern Country. It was this that threw Birney's Press into the Ohio, shot Lovejoy in defending his on the Mississippi, and expelled Cassius Clay's from Kentucky. All changes must come from within. The Kingdom of this world, as well as that of Heaven, is within us. The outward is but the projection and material representation of the inward ideal. All tyrants, great and small, know this, though many who are engaged in the conflict with tyranny find it a hard thing to hear. The obligations under which this country lies to the Abolitionists for having done battle for the right of treating of public matters, publicly, by speech and through the press, is now generally acknowledged by those who are competent to judge in the matter. It seems hard to believe that there was a time, and that not twenty years ago, when there were serious attempts made, in an irregular way, and more serious ones demanded by the South of a regular kind, for the suppression of the discussion of the Slavery Question. Yet those of us who can remember so long ago, know that it was so, and that it was to the persistent endurance of the Abolitionists that the conspiracy was defeated. We felt very certain that measures which gave such annoyance and apprehension to the enemy were precisely the ones that the campaign required.

Now we have lived to see very different times, as far as outward manifestations are concerned. Anti-Slavery papers are unmolested, except by delinquent subscribers and the neglect of those who ought to support them. Serious riots for the purpose of putting down discussion probably ended with Captain Rynders's campaign against the American Anti-Slavery Society, in which he remained master of the field. And there was really no bad blood about that. It was a simple business transaction, to let the slaveholders know that the wishes of New York merchants might be considered without danger in the matter of a Presidental nomination. After being driven forever from New York—an eternity which endured precisely three years—we regained our footing there last year, and this year, for the first time since 1840, we have effected our lodgment in a Church. These things show that the world is moving, and in the right direction; but it has not moved a great way yet. But the lever, and the fulcrum, and the place where to stand, are all found, and it will be the fault of the engineers if it be not rolled onward in the way it should go. In all countries in which the human mind has had anything like fair play, the progress of moral and political affairs has been gradually, but surely, tending towards a better state of things. This country, indeed, did, twenty years ago, seem to afford an exception to this general rule; and there have been times much later, yes, and which are now, when the slaveholding aristocracy seemed to be consolidating and extending its power. But it has relinquished the attempt, if not the wish, to put a stop to the discussion of its merits.

It is the main purpose why the American Society is, to maintain an everlasting protest against the usurpations of the Slave Power, and to keep up a continual claim for the rights of the slave. In proportion as it does this, it answers the end of its being. And imperfectly as it has done it, it has shaken the foundations of the country and made the general mind to boil as a pot. This is as necessary a process in reform as in chemistry, to make the scum rise first, so that it may be cleared out of the way. There never was a time when the Philosophy of Abolitionists stood more justified before men than it does now. And there never was a time when it was more vital to the objects for which they are sent, that that Philosophy should be made to lift up its voice in the streets and to persuade men. Men are willing to hear as they never were before. The political expediencies which have seduced so many from the platform of Original Abolitionism have so signally failed, that there are fewer difficulties in the way of reaching friendly minds. Indeed, there never was a time when Slavery and Freedom stood so unequivocally and decidedly front to front. The disguises and pretences which have deceived so many, are now in a great degree thrown aside. This is eminently the time for a renewed and increased agitation of the question of Slavery on its merits, and of that of the relations the North bear to it. The most effectual way of doing this is to strengthen the hands of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and the next immediate way is to come up to their Assembly with words and deeds of sympathy, of counsel and of help. We trust that this will be done, as it has never been done before, and that a gathering of Abolitionists of the most thorough description will come together on the Tenth of May, such as has never yet met in one place; and we are confident that they will never regret it, either for their own sake or that of the Slave.—E. Q.

JOHN MITCHEL, AGAIN.

The first requisite to greatness in this country is notoriety—except in the case of Presidents, where obscurity is the first necessity—and this step John Mitchel, who seems to possess in an eminent degree all those qualities for which Botany Bay exiles have always been celebrated, has most successfully achieved. That he will come to eminence there can be no doubt, though the manner of it must, as yet, be considered problematical. Perhaps he may ascend the Presidential seat; perhaps, he may go up those steps which men only mount once, and never come down again, except by a rope. This last, of late, has seemed the most likely fulfillment of his destiny, as he has turned from his last love, a plantation and negroes, to his first hate, England, and has been advocating an organization of his countrymen, preparatory, it is said, to an invasion of Canada. We are only afraid that he will discover too soon that that is not the Constitutional direction for extending the area of freedom.

His first grasp at greatness, however, was the most successful, whether prompted by chance or discretion, for it was made in the right, that is in the Southern, direction. An aspiration for a plantation and a gang of fat negroes was a happy and bold thought, especially when coming from one who proposed to be an apostle of and martyr to Liberty. Happy and bold, at least, when calculated for the Southern meridian, though it may be questioned whether a little more would not have been gained, at the North, if the villainy of the wish had been covered up with a little decent hypocrisy. At the South, Mr. Mitchel is become a marked man. The services that call forth the thanks of a State may well be considered as great, and Mr. Mitchel, having bestowed such a benefit, is accordingly entitled to the acknowledgment. Praise, to be sure, is not a plantation, and one negro-boy or girl would have been worth more in the New Orleans market than a State-house full of thanks; but as these come first, perhaps the others will follow. In the meantime the recipient is thankful for the first fruits of his services, as we learn from the last number of the *Citizen*, where we find this article:

Compliment from the Legislature of Louisiana.

From the Citizen, April 15.

Although it is our general practice in the *Citizen* to decline the publication of complimentary addresses to the Editor, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of giving the following correspondence to our readers. We believe it will give satisfaction to our friends, as it has been a source of pride to us.

Baton Rouge, Louisiana, March 30, 1854.

Sir: The undersigned have been appointed a joint Committee, on the part of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, to transmit to you the accompanying resolutions, unanimously adopted by both branches of the General Assembly.

In the performance of this agreeable duty, and in conveying to you the sentiments which originated and led to their adoption with such entire unanimity, we beg leave to say, that while we cherish the warmest sympathy for all who have made patriotic sacrifices for the emancipation of a nation from political tyranny and oppression, and are ever ready to receive them to our homes and hearts, the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, in adopting these resolutions, have been actuated mainly by a high sense of your enlightened and just political principles, as specially indicated by your able defence, in the midst of a fanatical opposition, of those great constitutional rights, and those national and fraternal sentiments, which are calculated to unite and harmonize the diversified interests of the country, and to cement the union of these States, on the perpetuity of which repose the highest hopes and dearest interests of mankind.

With these views and feelings, in the discharge of the duties assigned to us, in the name of the people of the State of Louisiana, we invite you to the freedom and hospitalities of our capital, and avail of the occasion to add the expression of our individual consideration and respect.

M. Ryan, J. G. DeRussy, } Committee on the part of the Senate.

F. H. Hatch, Geo. C. McWhorter, D. Corcoran, } Committee on the part of the House of Representatives.

To Mr. John Mitchel, Editor of the *Citizen*, New York.

Resolution inviting John Mitchel to the seat of government of the state.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, in General Assembly convened, That the distinguished patriot and exile John Mitchel, in consideration of his exalted character, his pre-eminent ability, and just and expanded national sentiments, as particularly exemplified in his late letter on the subject of Southern institutions, be, and is hereby, invited to the Seat of Government of this State.

Be it further Resolved, etc., that a committee of two members of the part of the House, be, and they are hereby appointed, to transmit a copy of these resolutions to John Mitchel.

Jno. M. Sandidge, Speaker of the House of Representatives.
Robert C. Wickliffe, President *pro tem.* of the Senate.
Approved, March 16, 1854.
P. O. Herbert, Governor of the State of Louisiana.

Mr. Mitchel's reply.

To the Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives of Louisiana:

New York, April 7, 1854.

Gentlemen: Your very kind and courteous letter has just been received, enclosing a resolution of the Legislature, which extends to me the distinguished honour of an invitation to the hospitalities of your State capital. It is indeed a distinction wholly unexpected, and I fear hardly merited; but it were affectation to deny that it has given me the keenest pleasure, and will always be remembered with pride.

My warmest thanks are especially due for this high and authoritative recognition of the cause of Irish nationality, for which cause I, as well as many better men, have for years endured the most curious refinements of malignant vengeance at the hands of our country's enemies. And now that the corrupt Parliament, Press and Administration of England are eagerly heaping deadly insults and calumnies upon the names of their intended victims, it is, to me at least, much more than a compensation that I am addressed with fraternal respect, and my hand is grasped in friendship by a higher and prouder race of freeman than Europe has known for two thousand years.

The course which I have taken as a journalist, on some questions of vital public interest, and which has had the good fortune to meet with the marked approval of the Legislature of Louisiana, was dictated solely by my own long-settled opinions and feelings. The ungenerous imputation which has been made—that I took that course in order to court and flatter the South at the expense of the North—the North where I have made my own home—must, to Southerners, appear irrational enough. And even those who make such a charge must themselves disbelieve it, for obvious reasons. In truth I took no thought of South or of North at all—of sectional interests or geographical parallels of latitude; but, on a great question of social polity arising for discussion, I felt myself entitled, and indeed bound (having undertaken to conduct a journal at all), to deal with the same plainly and independently. If my conclusions differ from those of several politicians, orators and philosophers of these parts, perhaps it is because I have drawn mine from some considerable study of history and politics in ancient and modern times, and not exclusively from the papers of Old England—the lecturers of New England, and the Gospel according to the apostles of "Progress." Once for all, I refuse to believe that human wisdom and virtue were born about the beginning of the nineteenth century—were cradled in Exeter Hall—were suckled, like the twins of Rhea Silvia, by a she-wolf (or strong-minded female)—and have reached their highest development and bright consummate blossoming in a "Garrisonian" of Boston, howling against the Union, as a dog bays the moon.

You will not condemn nor wonder at the zeal of a stranger and a refugee for that Union. In my case it is not unnatural. To me, from my childhood, the United States has been a sacred Unity—one and indivisible—the completest, grandest achievement and monument of the wit and courage of Man in modern times. The admiration became a passion; and the passion led me far, and cost me dear; but the dearer it has cost me, the more jealously and proudly I cherish now my old faith and hope; now when the banner I gazed on so long from hopeless distance, with "the desire of the moth for the star," gleams and waves above me at last. *May the colours of God's bow be torn asunder ere the Stripes of that majestic banner!*

I beg, gentlemen, that you will convey to both Houses of the Legislature my warmest acknowledgments

will read as well in Boston as it does in New Orleans.

At New Orleans, where, it seems, it first appeared, it is undoubtedly understood as an answer to the Anti-Slavery letter of Mr. Haughton—for the South makes no mistakes in such matters—and will be considered, of course, as eminently satisfactory; and at the North, even among those who will care anything about it, it will be accepted as no less excellent and spirited, as it has already gained currency as a reply to—as the *National Era*, which ought to know better, says—"a gentleman at New Orleans who undertakes to catechise Mr. Meagher respecting his opinions on human Slavery." Mr. Meagher could not have made a more artful dodge—presuming on his good luck to secure the a'd of such papers as the *Era*—to satisfy the South of his good intentions, at the same time that the North will award him the credit of not plunging into that dirty pool in which the instincts of John Mitchel led him to wallow. The letter is as follows:

St. Charles Hotel, New Orleans,
Wednesday, March 24, 1854.

Mr. Meagher presents his compliments to Mr. Haughton, and begs to state, he does not recognise in Mr. Haughton, or any other person, or the public generally, any right or title whatsoever to require from him an expression of opinion respecting the question of African Slavery in America.

Mr Meagher holds himself, upon all such questions, wholly irresponsible for his opinions, his silence, or his action, to Mr Haughton or to any other gentleman, or to the public at large, or any portion thereof.

Mr. Meagher begs leave to add, that he has taken the preparatory oath of allegiance to the Constitution, laws, and sovereignty of the Republic of the United States; that he is not yet a citizen; that three years have yet to elapse before he is one; that he postpones till then his declaration of opinion regarding African Slavery in America, and every other question affecting the joint compact and Constitution of the several States.

CONGRESS.

Nothing of interest has transpired during the past week in Congress, except the passage, by the House, of the Land Graduation Bill, which will, it is thought by many conversant with the subject, defeat the object of the Homestead Bill. In the House, the Nebraska-Kansas Bill is still hung up in the Committee of the Whole, a spectacle to men. It serves, however, as a sort of Quilp's figure-head, for men to keep their anger in heat and their weapons in exercise. Mr. Gerrit Smith has made a speech upon it, which is highly spoken of, but no report of it has been published. The phenomenon of a Southern member declaring himself against the bill has again appeared. We copy the telegraphic report of the speech of Mr. Cullom, of Tennessee:

Mr. Cullom (Tenn.) said, when he left Tennessee he had not dreamed that he should be called on to participate in a vexed sectional question. He had come hither to contribute his mite toward the construction of the Pacific Railroad, to the improvement of western rivers, and to the distribution of the public domain, swelling up to $1,500,000,000 of acres, part of which has been given away in partial fragments to favoured States. He had hoped to attend to thousands of claimants, including those under the French Spoliation bill; but it appears all these questions are ruled out of court. The streams of legislation are dammed up by this nefarious project—the Nebraska Kansas bill—which he denounced as the work of politicians to strangle the legislation of the country for personal aggrandizement. He believed, in the face of God, that he would be a coward if he did not denounce it. He would not be a Tennessean if he did not cry out against this nefarious plot against the peace and quiet of the country. Yes, Nebraska and Kansas is the hue and cry with which these halls are made vocal. Amid the sound of these cant phrases, we are told these Territories must have governments given to them forthwith; and the Compromise of 1820—the work of our fathers who pledged their honour to its support—must be trodden under foot. Gentlemen might talk to him about bad faith, and outraged southern honour, but he could tell all sections this is a naked question of repudiation or no repudiation. He had no personal unkindness toward any one, but he would rather tread on the verge of parliamentary rules than on the crumbling verge of the Union in defence of the schemes of demagogues. This question was sprung on him, startling him like a fire bell at midnight. Whence came it? Where are the public meetings of citizens, North or South; or the petitions asking Congress to bring these sections by the ears, re-open the fountains of bitter waters, and to revive the controversy which well nigh severed this Union? Did the appeal come from the South? No. The responsibility devolves on a Presidential aspirant, a defeated Presidential aspirant of 1850. This is the starting point, and the country should know it. Where have been the South? Have they been sleeping on the watch towers for 34 years, that it was necessary to wake them up to their interests by your big or little giants? (Laughter.) Mr. Douglas is the great Sanhedrim of the State of Illinois (renewed laughter), overshadowing everything. He (Cullom) had never read the bill, nor did he expect ever to read it. He demanded a response to the question, how comes this bill to be introduced by the Senator from Illinois, who has out Heroded Herod and out Southerned the South. He said he had once looked into a law-book, and there found that in construing a law it was necessary to look at the surrounding circumstances of its passage. Now he wanted to know the intent and leading power which prompted this great question, and he would look at the surrounding circumstances. The Senator in 1849 and 1850 proposed to re-enact or extend the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific, pending the controversy growing out of the Mexican acquisition. At the commencement of this session the Little Giant put out his Nebraska bill as a feeler. There was no earthly idea up to that time he would assail the Missouri Compromise, but he did consent to the insertion of a clause that the principles of the Compromise of 1850 render the Missouri Compromise inoperative—slightly inoperative (laughter). The Administration journal advocated the bill as introduced originally, and the Washington *Union* came out on Senator Dixon, who advocated a direct repeal of the Missouri compact. Mr. Nicholson, the Editor, said: "Oh look! there is a Whig from Kentucky and an Abolitionist (Mr. Sumner) attempting to break down the act of 1820, the time-honoured Compromise." When he mentioned the name of Douglas he felt as though he ought to ask pardon of the Committee (laughter). What was the next movement? The insertion of the repealing clause. The tender came from a suspicious source, from one of our ancient enemies. He thought he could show there was a big tom cat under the meal tub (laughter). The Administration, to recover its lost strength, at once seized on this as a means of nationalizing itself, and came back on the Little Giant. Let us go a little deeper, it said, and the Little Giant gives the screw one more turn, and exclaims, "I was always for the repeal, considering the Missouri Compromise a damnable evil" (laughter). Mr. Douglas, when he first proposed his Nebraska bill, said this Missouri Compromise was too sacred for the Committee on Territories to touch, but it is not so now—oh no! Mr. Cullom *denied* the North ever repudiated the compacts—although they have always had a majority, they have never proposed to repeal the line of 36 deg. 30 min as applicable to Missouri. It could not be shown. As to the bill it was not non-intervention in its character. He defended those who advocated and passed the Missouri Compromise; and in speaking of Mr. Clay in connection with this measure, replied to Mr Breckenridge, quoting from that gentleman's eulogy on the death of Mr. Clay, the following sentence: "Who does not remember the three periods when the American System of Government was exposed to its severest trials—and who does not know that when history shall relate the struggles which preceded and the disasters which were averted by the Missouri Compromise, the Tariff Compromise of 1832, and the adjustment of 1850, the same pages will record the genius, the eloquence and the heroism of Henry Clay." [While Mr. Cullom was reading the above, the Members greeted the name of Clay with clapping of hands.] Mr. C. next turned his attention to Mr Clingman, who, he said, had defended the Administration and the author of the bill. The gentleman, while so doing, had declared himself outside the pale of a healthful organization.

Mr. Clingman interrupting—I did not say healthful.

Mr. Cullom—I think it takes some outsider to defend this Administration. The preachers have sent lots of petitions here against this bill; but if there are preachers in the galleries, I would tell them their remonstrances will do no good—they must send lots of prayers (laughter).

Chairman—The gentleman's hour has expired.

Hon. Truman Smith has resigned his place in the U. S. Senate.

LETTER FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Bradford, N. H., April 11, 1854.

Mr. Gay: It is now some months since I wrote you from this mountainous region, as there was for a time very little agitation in the political, moral or religious world hereabouts which I supposed could be of much interest to you or your readers. At our annual election in March, 1853, the Pro-Slavery Hunker Democracy triumphantly walked over the course with a majority of from five to six thousand, and amply sustained its reputation of being, in politics, the South Carolina of the North. The people relapsed into the stagnation and calm of democratic despotism, and so remained, waiting for what might "turn up" under the Administration, until January last, when voices were heard from the slaveholders at Washington, saying, in substance, that they would extend their peculiar institution—or, more plainly, their system of robbery and plunder—over the whole Union. The people then began to wake up. The spirit of freedom was aroused in many towns; and wherever the Douglas Nebraska bill was discussed, remarkable changes were effected in favour of freedom and humanity, as signally made known at the ballot-box at the late election. We have a Legislature who will refuse to send to Washington Senators disposed to aid the slaveholders or Administration in their infernal Nebraska project. If thus much is done in short time, even in New Hampshire, in favour of freedom and human rights, there is hope that much more in the like direction might be done here and elsewhere, in time to come. Some incidents in this vicinity, relating to the late election, may perhaps be worthy of remark. Many of the clergy, even some of the lower law stamp, have rendered valuable service in the cause of freedom. In a town within twenty miles westward of this, on the Sunday previous to the election, a Baptist clergyman delivered a stirring discourse, as within his Gospel mission, against the iniquitous Nebraska bill, and followed up his opposition by word and deed until and on the day of election. For years that town had been represented by Hunker Democrats, but this year it is represented by men of the anti-Nebraska stamp. In a town southwest of us, a Hunker Democrat was elected Representative by two majority, although the majority in town was the other way. This was done by a half dozen super-orthodox religionists, two of them deacons, withholding their votes from the anti-Nebraska candidate, because they apprehended he was inclined to infidelity. Some of us were rather provoked at this, as we were willing to take Jew, Christian, Infidel or Turk, to help stop a conflagration or impede the wickedness of the Slave power.

Some of our people are talking about new tests and a new platform at elections, about which I may write you hereafter. T.

NEBRASKA FABLES.....No. II.

By Grace De La Véreté.

Most nations are, as we are all aware, constantly subject to progressive or retrograde movements; either forming fresh combinations and "annexations," verging towards dissolution from inherent weakness, or creating distinctive governments when the vitality of a nation is not sufficient to give vigour to its extremities, when a dissonance of opinion arises, and the dissentient have the "might to make the right."

The rats and the mice formerly constituted one nation; or rather Rat-land and Mouse-land united themselves under one Governor, who was elected periodically from either body. As it was a union for their mutual benefit, and each had the wisdom to remember that they ought to be content with something short of perfection, for a long time affairs progressed so well that certain animals who deem themselves a superior race might have profited by their example; although, certainly, there were many habits, practices and pursuits of the rats that were totally inimical, nay, even repugnant, to the feelings of all true mice.

The rat, although a faithful ally, was naturally of a fierce and warlike disposition, carnivorous in his tastes and inclined to aggression; indeed, it might be said, he was by nature a soldier; while the mouse, whose nature was gentle, and habits domestic, was almost wholly engaged in mercantile pursuits.

As may be imagined, these gentle-hearted creatures endeavoured to dissuade their fellow-citizens from their evil ways, and remonstrated with them on their pernicious customs; and let it be said, their remarks were frequently listened to with a becoming, courteous and considerative patience by those rats who were most distinguished for their wisdom, sagacity and benevolence. These rats would often observe that they saw and acknowledged much of the evil alluded to, but that the change could not, even if feasible, of which there was some doubt, be so easily effected as the mice imagined. "You must remember," they would say, "that we, even, who are somewhat cognizant of the evil, feel loath to relinquish those 'Institutions' we have inherited from our fathers, and which are so consonant with our rat nature; and there are many who, far from recognising the truth of what you assert, believe the course the rats pursue to be rigidly correct." But there were hot headed rats who answered all that was urged in a very different style; merely reiterating, "We will preserve our Rat-land 'Institutions;' we will not give up the time-honoured 'Institutions' of our fathers." We may here premise, that there were many inhabitants of Mouse-land who, partly through fear, lest their commerce might be injured, partly from lukewarmness, and partly from want of courage, would refuse to give any opinion on the vexed question; nay, would even, in the presence of a rat, affect to believe that their conduct, *as rats*, was perfectly justifiable.

Although the founders of this nation had drawn up a Constitution with all possible intelligence and care, still, there were loop-holes in abundance for corruption and ambition. It was the elections which most fully tested the principles and tried the hearts and consciences of both rats and mice; for they, also, are not impervious to temptation. The chief magistracy was the *desideratum* of the ambitious in this country; and there was many a wealthy and cunning mouse, many a martial rat, having little more to recommend them for the position than *certain men* for a similar one, whose hearts beat high and unceasingly under their skins, for a long period antecedent to the time when they hoped to sway the destinies of their nation. Alas! that rats and mice should so much resemble men.

But our pen now almost refuses to aid us in recounting a piece of treachery scarcely paralleled for its blackness. About the time to which we wish to draw attention, there lived a mouse named Moulas, who, although he had taken a part in the affairs of the nation, was not remarkable for anything, if we except that he had a somewhat Rattish appearance about the shoulders. This *gentleman* had travelled both in Mouse-dom and Rat-dom, and possessed considerable property in the latter place. How ignorant are we of what is passing in the bosom of our acquaintances! So thought, I doubt not, many an auditor as, one day, in the Senate Chambers of his country, the aspiring Moulas, swelling himself to his utmost dimensions (which then were extremely minute, even for a mouse), he addressed his co Senators to this effect: "Born and educated a mouse, with mouse principles instilled by my mother's earliest precepts, which the stories of the actions of my ancestors were not calculated to weaken, you may well believe me to be impartial, when I declare my firm conviction that vile slanders and malicious reports have been circulated, by my countrymen, concerning Rat-dom; I have discovered that there is nothing in Rat-dom contrary to Religion, Morality and Propriety (applause from the hot-heads). And to show my sincerity, when I aver that I am aware of the injustice the Rats have received at the hands of the Mice. I here offer myself," said he, endeavouring to assume as Ratty and warlike an appearance as possible, "I offer myself to be your leader; and move that you at once attempt to re-establish yourselves in all those territories of which you have been fraudulently dispossessed, that you vindicate your character, and resist the encroachments of your rapacious dictatory and insulting allies—here let me say that I do not wish honourable members to understand that I include all the inhabitants of Mouse-dom in this phillipic, as I am aware there are many inclined to my views." Moulas repeated himself, commenced nibbling a piece of cheese, and went through various mouse antics, as he was alternately overwhelmed by hisses and cheers. There were a few attempts to reply from the most excitable, but the more sensible members wisely resolved to withdraw and reserve their remarks for a more fitting opportunity—indeed this was quite a necessary prudence on the part of any one desiring to speak; as such a scene of tumult and confusion, such a mingling of low murmers and loud squeaks, such a rushing to and fro, such a jumping over seats, such a stepping on honourable members' paws and tails, such sneers and such congratulations, had never, as one of the oldest Senators said he could safely affirm, had never before occurred in that venerated Senate House. In a short time, however, each had returned to his home, or, as we may express it, retreated to his hole.

Moulas could scarcely analyse his feelings as he reclined on his lonely couch that evening; in truth, he trembled as he thought on the scene of excitement of which he had been the cause, and had an indistinct fear that the elements which he had succeeded in rousing might be beyond his control. He had no faithful spouse, at yet, in whom to confide his ambitious project, and did not desire to unfold his secret hopes to any friend, who, for aught he knew, might have the same designs as himself. It is scarcely necessary to add that he had intended to present himself a candidate at the ensuing election, and had thought that, in addition to those on whom he relied to support him in Mouse-dom, he might, by a master stroke of heartless cunning, secure the gratitude and votes of the whole of Rat-dom. It will be seen by these records that a mouse has not more foresight that a man.

After a few days, honourable members became more calm, and an anxiety was manifested to hear the leading members' remarks on Moulas's speech. Some, as if to show their utter contempt, alluded to it as a matter of secondary importance, after addressing the House on other subjects. Others paid it no attention whatever. One member proposed an amendment to the Terrier and Ferret Bill, which passed without opposition; another spoke of some additional clause in the Cat and Trap Bill, on which a Committee was forthwith appointed. Bills were presented to aid Commerce, Military Bills, Appropriation Bills, Bills for giving assistance to parties then engaged in making discoveries on Bipeds; a Bill was passed for adopting in the army a recent and highly *useful invention*, which sharpened the teeth so admirably that one incision could remove a leg or shoulder of any small animal with the utmost speed and precision! Some members from Mouse-dom did, indeed, endeavour to bring the House back to what was, in reality, the subject of the day; and very eloquent they were; and Mouse-dom itself rose, and, as with one voice, protested against the treachery of her son. It is impossible to describe the astonishment of Rat-dom at the decided step taken by their hitherto peaceable fellow-subjects.

In the meantime, notwithstanding the ruptures in parties, the breaking up of friendship, the complete disorganization which prevailed throughout the capitol, the animadversions and challenges which were bandied around (it being with great difficulty that some hon. members could be restrained from trying the invention before alluded to), the little Moulas continued with his coadjutors, by a mixture of cajolery and coercion, to press forward his Bill. But there is a proverb which speaks of *slips between cups and lips*. Alas! poor Moulas.

To the surprise of every one the most distinguished Senator in Rat-dom had continued to preserve an inexorable silence on Moulas's Bill; but he had not been unobserved, nor had it been neglected. Several of the gravest had consulted together, and ruminated alone, and had finally resolved to crush a Bill which, conceived in treachery, was pregnant with destruction. Accordingly the distinguished Ben-rat rose, and addressed the House in a brief but effective speech, which immediately caused the aforementioned fiery-headed members, who, by the bye, are easily swayed, to waver in their opinions, and made the little Moulas tremble for his critical position. Ben-rat was followed by the illustrious Ras-hons, "whom not to know would argue oneself unknown." He said: "Mr. President, in reply to the motion of my very learned friend, Moulas, I will first say that there is one circumstance, alone, which should cause us to hesitate before adopting it; that is, its being proposed by one who is a traitor to his race; by one who, actuated, I fear, from ambitious motives, would risk the safety of the Union, which has hitherto been attended with the most happy results (cheers). He accuses his race of ferocity, rapacity and insolence; we have yet to discover these traits in the Mouse character (loud applause). He vindicates certain of our 'Institutions,' on which we ourselves look with distrust, and which many of us would fain abolish, were it not for the law of our Rat-nature, which it is difficult for us to set aside. He offers himself, fellow-citizens, to be our leader (hisses and sneers); when Rats are deficient in prowess, skill and intelligence, when they cease to have rats among them capable of heading their armies, resisting aggressions and conducting nece-sary reforms, they will then appeal to Mouse-dom, perhaps call on the services of the gifted Moulas. I move that the Bill be laid aside indefinitely." Ras-hons resumed his seat amid thunders of applause. His motion was unanimously agreed to.

It remains but to add that the mice and rats agreed, as a punishment, to deprive Moulas of his ears and tail, and the foremost among them in putting the sentence into execution were the fiery-headed before spoken of. Shall we say that Moulas's ambitious projects had received the final blow? that his mousy sleep was no more disturbed by visions of Presidential honour? Even the smallest quadrupeds would not choose an earless and tail-less representative of the dignity of their nation.

SUMMARY

We learn from the Virginia *Herald* that the jail of Middlesex County was destroyed by fire some ten days ago. It was fired by a runaway negro under confinement, who made his escape.

The *Western Christian Advocate* of Cincinnati, the organ of the Methodists of the West, is out against the Douglas Nebraska bill. It has a circulation of 25,000, and will exert a powerful influence among the great mass of Methodist people on this question.

Still they Come.—Eight good healthy appearing "chattels" arrived on the other side of Jordan (i. e. Canada), by U. G. R. R. Line. Great credit is due to the engineers and conductors on the route, for bringing them safe through without stoppage. They are from Kentucky, and are worth about $10,000.—*Detroit Dem.*

We find the following in the *Maysville* (Ky.) *Eagle* of April 8:

Enticing Away a Slave.—Mrs. Affleck was arrested at her residence in Louisville on Thursday, charged with enticing away and running off a negro woman belonging to Prof. Gross. Mrs. A. went to the Jeffersonville Railroad office and bought a ticket purporting to be for her own use. She gave the ticket to the negro woman, who was to go over in the omnibus on the following morning. Mrs. A. is a dressmaker."

Slavery and Shipbuilding.—The Washington *Star* takes it for granted that at least two of the six steamers just ordered, will be built at Washington. Of course—it would not be constitutional otherwise. Two more of them will probably be built at Portsmouth, Va., one at Memphis, and *perhaps* the mechanics of Charlestown, Portsmouth, or Brooklyn may be allowed to build the other. These Northern mechanics don't know anything about building ships for the government. And then again, building the government's ships at the North does not give any patronage and encouragement to the slaveholders who live in the vicinity of the Southern Navy Yards. The establishment of the Navy Yard at Charlestown, was merely for the purpose of presenting the best water in Boston harbour being used to promote the commercial prosperity of Boston.—*Bos. Com.*

The citizens of Portsmouth, Va., as will be seen by the following preamble and resolutions adopted at a public meeting held there recently, have determined to look to the Federal Executive for a more prompt and faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave law:

"Whereas, Major Hodsden, James M. Binford, Mrs. Smiley, and others of our citizens did, a short time ago, lose some of their negroes, who it was subsequently proved escaped in a vessel to New Bedford, Mass.; and whereas, when they pursued their negro property to that place, and became satisfied from ample evidence that the negroes had been there, and were then secreted within the precincts of the town; and whereas, the Marshals, chief and subordinate, proved inefficient, and through their inefficiency and wilful carelessness, our friends failed in securing their property; therefore,

"Be it Resolved, That —— be a Committee to draw up a statement of the whole matter, and that —— be a Committee empowered and requested to lay the same in person before his Excellency the President of the United States, and to solicit from him such action in the premises as he may deem it proper and competent for him to perform.

"Resolved, That the last named Committee be instructed to proceed at as early a day as practical and convenient to Washington City, in accordance with the foregoing resolution."

The *Ohio State Democrat* (Columbus) don't seem to admire the way the elections are going, and 'speaks right out in meeting,' as follows:

The Late Elections.—It is related of a man who had never visited Niagara before, that he mistook the spray for rain, and kept housed for a couple of days, unwilling to have his best clothes soiled with the damp. On the third day he inquired of a boarder at the same hotel if that infernal rain was ever going to stop. We are in somewhat the same fix. Are these infernal elections ever going to stop?

At our city election we were badly beaten, and our only consolation is that the vote was a small one, and the Democratic strength was not out. Why was this so?

In Cincinnati the Bolters and Whigs have elected a portion of their ticket. The vote there was small. Why was this?

Connecticut, according to the telegraph, has gone Whig. The telegraph gives us all the particulars that we have.

Why these things? Why these reverses? Why defeat where we ought to have victories?, These are questions which the Democracy should ponder and reflect, and apply the corrective.

Two years ago the Democracy fairly swept the Union from one extreme to another. Last fall the majorities were increased, and this spring they are different. When successful, all perplexing questions were suffered to be settled.

The renewed agitation of the Slavery question in Congress—the repudiation of a cherished part of the Baltimore Platform—has aided much in the work; and the engrafting upon the Nebraska bill, in Congress, a *Native American* amendment, offered by a Whig Senator, has done the worst injury.

The Russians Among us.—The *Courrier des Etats Unis*, of this morning, returns to the subject of the Russian plotters among us, and gives us a column of very alarmingly large print about the matter. It says, that the Russian agents have been negotiating with one of the mail steamer companies for the purchase of four steamers. All was arranged in regard to the vessels selected and the price to be paid (two millions of dollars); but the company desiring a guaranty against any consequences that might ensue, the negotiation was broken off.

This is the purport of the portentous column of the *Courrier.—Post.*

Education in Virginia.—The Richmond *Whig* argues the necessity for adopting a more efficient system of education in the State. It says:

"Every decade exhibits a rapid and fearful increase of this mass of ignorance. In 1840, the number of the unlettered in Virginia amounted to 60,000. In 1850, it exceeded 80,000. At this rate it will not require many centuries to extinguish all knowledge of letters in the State."

Not many, we think also (adds the *Tribune*), provided teachers are incarcerated in prison, simply because they endeavour to enlighten your children.

The Community in Danger!—We learn that Mrs. Douglass, who was imprisoned at Norfolk, Virginia, for teaching coloured children to read, has been discharged, after serving out her term; but we have not learned whither she has turned her steps. It is important that we should know this fact. The progress of so dangerous and so wicked a person should be pre announced, that the unsuspecting should be put upon their guard. Teach children to read! Children, who may grow up to be men and women! Children, who have immortal souls! Children, whose crime and misfortune is said to be that they *cannot learn!* We do not know Mrs. Douglass, but is it not reasonable to suppose that the enlightened State of Virginia is, in this Nineteenth Century, incapable of doing injustice to any human being, and most especially to a helpless and unprotected woman? Mrs. Douglass *must* be a great sinner!—*National Era.*

The Nebraska Bill in Michigan.—The Detroit *Times*, the special organ of the National or "old line" Democrats in Michigan, has the following in a recent issue upon the subject of the Nebraska bill:

"We have from the first been firmly of the opinion, and the lapse of time more firmly convinces us of the fact, that the Democratic party of this State are hostile to the passage of the Nebraska bill; and we have been from time to time authoritatively assured that at least half, if not the majority, of our delegates in the House would vote against the measure as it passed the Senate.

* * * * *

Our readers will not accuse us of being an Abolitionist, nor of interfering with the Constitutional rights of the slave States, but we tell our delegation in Congress that the people of Michigan are opposed to the repeal of that Compromise, sanctioned by the legislation of thirty years. We say emphatically that if the bill passes the House as it came from the Senate, it will cause an agitation at the North beyond that which the nation ever saw—producing a distrust in all existing compacts, and a determination of never making another. The day of compromises will have passed, and the evils that will result to the national peace, or even the national existence, will be laid on the shoulders of those who have thus unnecessarily "removed the ancient landmark."

A Very Good Joke.—We learn from the Milwaukee *Free Democrat* some facts in relation to the recent fugitive slave case at Milwaukee, which may be interesting and amusing to our readers. It appears that on the day of the rescue of Glover, Deputy Marshal Cotton called on the Commandants of the Military Companies to call out their troops, but they declined to obey such a requisition without the proper authority. He then called on Gen. McManman, requiring him to call out the troops under his command. He said his Captains were military men and would not act unless the provisions of the law were strictly complied with, and unless some authority would guaranty that the troops should be paid. Finally, the astonishingly brilliant U. S. Attorney Sharpstein, after due consideration, certified that, in his opinion, Uncle Sam would be bound to pay. Accordingly the necessary requisition was made, and, on the order of little Deputy Cotton, two Companies, comprising 111 men, were stationed at the Armory, and required to remain there till further orders.

On Tuesday the Commandant waited on the Deputy, to know how much longer the troops should remain at the Armory. The Deputy Marshal, in great surprise, replied, "You havn't kept the troops at the Armory all this while, have you?"

"Certainly. You gave directions to keep them there till further orders."

Uncle Sam's slave-catching agents were now in a quandary. One hundred and eleven troops had been watching for four days to prevent the escape of Glover, though Glover had made his exit from Milwaukee *three days* previous. What was to be done? The troops would not disband without their pay, and after some quibbling as to whether the Commandant should receipt for the troops, or the troops receipt individually for themselves, it was finally agreed that the latter course should be pursued, and the Marshal had to pay the Eight Dollars a head, or $888, for watching the Armory to prevent the escape of Glover from jail, *three days after Glover had left for Canada!*—(*Chicago*) *Weekly Tribune.*

Statement of the Cuban Authorities Relative to the Black Warrior.—A pamphlet, in English (says the *Evening Post*), has lately appeared in Havana, giving the official documents connected with the seizure of the Black Warrior. It, of course, presents the conduct of the Spanish authorities in a more favourable point of view than the reports which have heretofore appeared.

In his communications to the President of the Council of Ministers, the Captain-General, Marquis De la Pezuela, states, that after the violation of the Custom House regulations of the island had been fully made out the consignees acknowledged their fault, asking indulgence on the score of ignorance; but that he did not comply with the request, partly from regard to the law, partly because the case, being committed to judicial hands, was not within the scope of his authority, and partly, again, because the plea of ignorance was not well founded, from the fact that a copy of the regulations had been seasonably placed in the captain's possession. The law, too, applicable to the case, had never been suspended, except when a fraudulent concealment had been effected.

He, however, states that on referring the matter to the Superior Board of Administration, the seizure and fines were pronounced legal, but it was left to the Captain-General to make such modifications as he saw fit. That officer, accordingly, referred the question to the Attorney-General, who advised, in view of the great value of the ship and cargo, it would be well to substitute for the fine and confiscation proposed a fine of $10,000, besides the costs and other expenses.

"But I," says the Captain-General, "in accordance with the spirit of benevolence so striking in the report of the Board of Political Administration, came to resolve by order of the 16th, that all the fine to be inflicted upon the owners of the steamer should be six thousand dollars, without any further expenses, whatever might be the cause of them, although from this sum had to deducted the costs, till then produced, and the duties of which the royal customs had been defrauded. In consequence of this decision, the consignee yesterday took charge of the vessel, after depositing a bond for the six thousand dollars in which he was fined. He subsequently presented to me a memorial, begging me to modify the fine still more; but this, being no longing in my power, I authorized him to address her Majesty through me, and so he has done in thankful and moderate terms, which are in decided contrast with the furious vociferations which in their country have been excited by the enemies of this, whose authorities know how to blend, as they have done in this case, and will ever do, and at whatever cost, gentleness and benignty with firmness and energy that satisfy the national dignity."

To Correspondents.

J. T.—The letter must have been his, according to the date and enclosure.

OBITUARY.

Burroughs Phillips, a native of Seneca County, a graduate of Dartmouth College, and a member of the Bar of Onondaga County, died at Waterloo, N. Y., at the residence of his father-in-law, Thomas M'Clintock, on the 6th inst., in the 30th year of his age.

A good scholar, an honest lawyer, a just and generous friend, an affectionate brother, and a most devoted and faithful husband—in every respect an upright, noble, and truly Christian man—he won the respect and love of all who were so fortunate as to know him. His sudden departure has occasioned an unusual outburst of deep and general sorrow.

The modesty of Burroughs Phillips, and that peculiarity of his profession which compels the young lawyer to earn, by repeated and patient efforts, the reluctant prize of a reputation, both solid and brilliant, kept many of his acquaintances in partial ignorance of the extent of his capacities and the wealth of his acquirements. His classmates in College, however, his legal brethren in the city of his residence, and all his intimate friends, were well aware that he was characterized by rare thoroughness of scholarship, marked power of discrimination, and a catholicity of mind which enabled him to do singular justice to all sides of the question he examined, and to the merits of every party, whether in the State or in the Church. Had length of days been allowed him, he was almost sure to have risen to uncommon distinction and honour.

The strength and comprehensiveness of his intellect were more than equalled by the warmth, purity and nobility of his soul. All who were blessed with his friendship must ever look back with grateful memories upon his life of loyalty to principle, and generous devotion to the welfare of his family, his neigbour and his race. He was one of those to whom the poor, the afflicted, and the oppressed never appealed in vain for aid.

A man of deeds, rather than a man of words, shrinking from all display of the sacred experiences of his spirit, he made few professions of religious attainments; but a firm and cheerful faith in the goodness and justice of his Heavenly Father, which grew with his growth, and was strengthened with his strength, is known to have given force to his character, and daily beauty to his life. His Christian faith was touchingly manifested in his last hours. Bound to earth by the tenderest ties, having just matured most excellent plans of usefulness and enjoyment, he submitted to his fate without the slightest murmur, sustained by the spirit of that great Sufferer, who said, If it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done.

"Lone are the paths, and sad the hours,
Since thy meek spirits 's gone;
But, O, a brighter home than ours,
In heaven, is now thine own!"

T. J. M.

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Miscellaneous Department.

LITTLE BELL.

He prayeth well who loveth well
Both man and bird and beast.
The Ancient Mariner

PIPED the blackbird on the beechwood spray—
"Pretty maid, slow wandering this way,
What's your name?" quoth he—
"What's your name? Oh! stop and straight unfold,
Pretty maid, with showery curls of gold?"
"Little Bell," said she.

Little Bell sat down beneath the rocks—
Tossed aside her gleaming golden locks—
"Bonny Bird!" quoth she—
"Sing me your best song before I go."
"Here's the very finest song I know,
Little Bell," said he.

And the blackbird piped—you never heard
Half so gay a song from any bird—
Full of quips and wiles,
Now so round and rich, now soft and slow,
All for love of that sweet face below.
Dimpled o'er with smiles.

And the while that bonny bird did pour
His full heart out, freely, o'er and o'er,
'Neath the morning skies,
In the little childish heart below,
All the sweetness seemed to grow and grow,
And shine forth in happy overflow
From the blue, bright eyes.

Down the dell she tripped, and through the glade
Peeped the squirrel from the hazel shade,
And from out the tree
Swung, and leaped, and frolicked, void of fear—
While bold blackbird piped, that all might hear—
"Little Bell!"—piped he.

Little Bell sat down amid the fern—
"Squirrel, squirrel, to your task return—
Bring me nuts!"—quoth she.
Up, away! the frisky squirrel lies—
Golden wood-lights glancing in his eyes—
And adown the tree,

Great ripe nuts, kissed brown by July sun,
In the little lap, drop, one by one—
Hark! how blackbird pipes to see the fun!
"*Happy* Bell!" pipes he.

Little Bell looked up and down the glade—
"Squirrel, squirrel, from the nut-tree shade,
Bonny blackbird, if you're not afraid,
Come and share with me!"

Down came squirrel, eager for his fare—
Down came bonny blackbird, I declare;
Little Bell gave each his honest share;
Ah! the merry three!

And the while those frolick playmates twain
Piped and frisked from bough to bough again,
'Neath the morning skies,
In the little childish heart below
All the sweetness seemed to grow and grow,
And shine out, in happy overflow,
From her blue, bright eyes.

By her snow-white cot, at close of day,
Knelt sweet Bell, with folded palms to pray—
Very calm and clear
Rose the praying voice to where, unseen
In blue Heaven, an angel shape serene
Paused awhile to hear.

"What good child is this," the angel said,
"That with happy heart, beside her bed,
Prays so lovingly?"
Low and soft, oh! very low and soft,
Crooned the blackbird in the orchard croft,
"Bell, *dear* Bell!" crooned he,

"Whom God's creatures love," the angel fair
Murmured, "God doth bless with angels' care;
Child, thy bed shall be
Folded safe from harm—love deep and kind,
Shall watch around and leave good gifts behind,
Little Bell, for thee."

—*Athenæum.* T. WESTWOOD.

CHARLES LAMB.

CHARLES LAMB was born on the 18th of February, 1775, in Crown Office Row, Inner Temple. His father, John Lamb, was originally of Lincolnshire, but at a very early age he had come to London, and entered the service of Mr. Salt, a bencher of the Inner Temple, whose clerk he was for many years. In his essay on the "Old Bachelors of the Inner Temple," Lamb, in his delightful manner, describes the locality of the Inner Temple, the place of his birth, and where the first seven years of his life were spent, Mr. Salt, and his father, who is delineated under the name of Lovel. An extract will serve to give an idea of John Lamb, senior, and the relations he sustained with his employer: "Salt never knew what he was worth in the world; and having but a competency for his rank, which his indolent habits were little calculated to improve, might have suffered severely if he had not had honest people about him. Lovel took care of everything. He was alone his clerk, his good servant, his dresser, his friend, his 'flapper,' his guide, stop-watch, auditor, treasurer. He did nothing without consulting Lovel, nor failed in anything without expecting and fearing his admonishing." "Lovel was a man of incorrigible and losing honesty, a good fellow, withal, and 'would strike.' In the cause of the oppressed he never considered inequalities, or calculated the number of his opponents. He once wrested a sword out of the hand of a man of quality that had drawn upon him, and pommeiled him severely with the hilt of it. The swordsman had offered insult to a female—an occasion upon which no odds against him could have prevented the interference of Lovel." "Lovel was the liveliest little fellow breathing, had a face as gay as Garrick's, whom he was said greatly to resemble, possessed a fine turn for humorous poetry—next to Swift and Prior—moulded heads in clay or plaster of Paris to admiration, by the dint of natural genius merely; turned cribbage-boards, and such small cabinet toys to perfection; took a hand at quadrille or bowls with equal facility; made punch better than any man of his degree in England; had the merriest quips and conceits, and was altogether as brimful of rogueries and inventions as you could desire. He was a brother of the angler, moreover, and just such a free, hearty, honest companion as Mr. Izaak Walton would have chose to go fishing with." Mrs. Lamb seems to have been an equally worthy and admirable woman. They had three children—John, Mary, and Charles. Of these, Charles was the youngest, there being a difference of twelve and ten years between him and his brother and sister respectively. Their parents, though in an humble station, "were endued with sentiments which might have well become the gentlest blood; and fortune, which had denied them wealth, enabled them to bestow on their children some of the happiest intellectual advantages wealth ever confers."

At the age of seven, Lamb was presented to the school of Christ's Hospital. In personal appearance at this time, he was of a mild countenance, clear brown complexion, and eyes which possessed the singular characteristic of differing in colour, one being hazel, the other having specs of gray in the iris. His step was plantigrade, which made his gait slow and peculiar, and added to the staid appearance of his figure. A delicate frame and difficulty of utterance unfitted him for any boisterous sport. Even at this early period, he furnished marked indications of those qualities of intellect and temper which, in after life, attracted so much the admiration and love of those who knew him. One of his schoolfellows says of him, "Lamb was an amiable, gentle boy, very sensible and keenly observant, indulged by his school-fellows and master on account of his infirmity of speech." "I never heard his name mentioned without the addition of Charles, though, as there was no other boy of the name of Lamb, the addition was unnecessary; but there was an implied kindness in it, and it was a proof that his gentle manners excited that kindness." Though Lamb's docility, and facility in the acquisition of the classics, would have doubtless made him a distinguished scholar, and enabled him to obtain an exhibition; and though, perhaps, the career, which such a success at school would have opened to him would have been, at least at that period, the most congenial to his wishes, the course marked out for him by Providence was very different to that which his early predilections suggested. The adoption of the clerical profession was an understood condition on which the exhibitions at Christ's Hospital were given. For this calling, the impediment in Lamb's speech quite unfitted him, and, accordingly, he was not admitted into the class which led to the exhibitions; and, as he says, "defrauded in his young years of the sweet food of academic institution," he left school to pursue uncongenial labour of the "desk's dead wood." This took place on the 28th November, 1789, in his fifteenth year. His place in the school was in the lower division of the second class. He had read Virgil, Sallust, Terence, selections from Lucian's Dialogues, and Xenophon; and was fond of Latin composition in verse and prose, by his skill in which he had gained considerable distinction.

As is the case of most men of original genius, it is difficult to trace in the subsequent manifestations of Lamb's intellect the predominating influence of his scholastic attainments. Doubtless, the direct, positive, and mental aliment he received, and the discipline he underwent, at school, did enter into, and had a powerful bearing on the development of his intellectual character, but subordinately to the associations by which his early life was surrounded, and the range and nature of his own independent reading. The love of antiquity, that predilection for a town life, that clinging to the present and the tangible, that instinctive relish for everything attaching to human nature, particularly in its quaintest displays, that antique quaintness of style (so modern in its finish) by which his writings are so markedly characterized, and which constitute their chief and enduring charm, were peculiarities imbibed into his mental growth from the soil in which his young life struck its roots, and the nutriment it spontaneously sought and assimilated. The first seven years of his life were spent in the Temple, where he was born. The impression wrought upon his youthful fancy by this spot, with "its church, its halls, its gardens, its fountains, its river," is admirably described in his essay on "Old Bachelors of the Inner Temple." What a tincture of elegant antiquity a young and susceptible mind must have received from constant association with such a locality! Nor was this association much broken by his going to Christ's Hospital. It was but a removal, so to speak, from one cloister to another; and at even during his school life he spent much of his time in the Temple, where he always found a happy home, endeared to him by the fondest and most undeviating affection, the place during the next seven years of his was still further associated with his sweetest enjoyments and hopes, and impressed all the stronger bias on his opening intellect. Still more strong, because more direct, was the influence of his early and voluntary reading. He was "tumbled early, by accident or design, into a spacious closet of good old English reading, without much selection or prohibition, and browsed at will upon that fair and wholesome pasturage." This "spacious closet" was the library of Mr. Salt, to which Lamb was allowed access.

On leaving school, Lamb went to live with his parents, still in the Temple. At first he found employment in the South Sea House, under his brother James, which he exchanged, April 5th, 1792, for an appointment in the accountant's office of the East India Company. His salary was at first inconsiderable, but was a grateful addition to the resources of his parents. Old Mr. Lamb at this time received an annuity from Mr. Salt, and was fast sinking into dotage, while Mrs. Lamb was confined to her bed by ill health. It is a fine proof of the sweetness of Lamb's disposition, that he submitted to his hard lot, in exchanging the "sweets of academic institution" for the drudgery of a counting-office, without a murmur; and that he cheerfully gave up his money to procure the comfort of his parents, and bestowed his more precious leisure on the amusement of his father, with whom he used to sit for hours in the evening, playing at cribbage; his only recreation being an occasional visit, in company with his sister, to the theatre, and a supper with some of his old school-fellows, when they happened to be in town from college.

It does not appear that Lamb made any trial of his literary powers until the year 1795. Probably the nature of his occupations repressed any aspirations he may have felt, which derived no encouragement from a disposition that was, perhaps, unenterprising. An external stimulus was required to quicken the latent capability into action. An impulse, not yet furnished, was needed to induce him to put forth his strength, and reveal to him the existence of his power. The genial influence under which the buddings of his genius expanded into bloom and fragrance, was the friendship which he at this time formed with Coleridge. Coleridge had been his schoolfellow and Lamb had frequently met him during his occasional visits to town from the university. When Coleridge left the university, and came to live in London, Lamb became his "admiring disciple." Their meetings took place in a little inn, called the "Salutation and Cat," near Smithfield. There the hours were spent, till long after midnight, in delightful discourses upon poetry and metaphysics. Bowles—at that time the god of Coleridge's idolatry—Burns—Lamb's favourite pet—Cowper—lofty speculations in philosophy and on the destiny of man, were the themes on which Coleridge loved to lavish the wealth of his gorgeous and then enthusiastic imagination, and to which Lamb loved to listen. In 1818, in dedicating his works to Coleridge, Lamb thus reverts to their meetings: "Some of the sonnets, which shall be carelessly turned over by the general reader, may happily awaken in you remembrances which I should be sorry to doubt are totally extinct, the memory of summer days and of delightful years,' even so far back as those old suppers at our old inn—when life was fresh, and topics exhaustless—and you first kindled in me, if not the power, yet the love of poetry, and beauty, and kindliness." This contact with Coleridge struck out the first sparks of poesy from the mind of Lamb. It was to no long or lofty flight that his early muse applied her powers. His compositions at this period, which were slowly produced, and at long intervals, were sonnets and small pieces in blank verse, melodious transcripts of his own personal feelings. The inspiration of the sonnets was a passion he felt for a young lady, which was not fated to last beyond a few months. For a terrible catastrophe intervened, the impression of which on Lamb's heart was so deep, that it checked forever this growing attachment, and well-nigh divorced him from every feeling and pursuit not immediately connected with his domestic obligations. The young lady referred to, is commemorated in his sonnets as the "Fair-Haired Maid."

In the end of 1795, Coleridge left London and settled at Bristol. The solitude in which Lamb was consequently left seemed to have preyed upon his mind; and symptoms of insanity, to which there was a family tendency, appeared, which rendered it necessary to subject him to the restraint of an asylum for a few weeks. In a letter to Coleridge, in 1796, he thus alludes to this event: "My life has been somewhat diversified of late. The six weeks that finished last year and began this, your very humble servant spent very agreeably in a mad-house at Hoxton. I am got somewhat rational now, and don't bite any one. But mad I was! and many a vagary my imagination played with me; enough to make a volume, if all were told." His letters, which comprise some of the most characteristic and charming of his writings, at this period are marked by a deeply earnest religious tone, and contain few traces of that playful spirit, wild humour, quaintness of thought and expression, so observable in his after letters. Both Coleridge and Lamb at this time were Unitarians, and sympathized in an enthusiastic admiration of Priestley and his writings.

Lamb, with his father, mother, and sister, was now living in Holburn; and, in this year, a terrible domestic calamity fell upon them, which, while it was a dreadful trial to Lamb's feelings, and induced a temporary cloud over his literary schemes, brought out into bright relief all the beauties of his character. His sister, between whom and himself there existed a great similarity of intellect and disposition, as well as the fondest affection, had for some time been harassed by the constant attention her mother's health required from her, and which she cheerfully paid. The effect of her continual night-watchings upon her spirits was aggravated by assiduous employment in needle-work during the day. The nervous condition induced hereby terminated in confirmed insanity, the symptoms of which had so increased on the evening of Wednesday, September 21, 1796, that Lamb, on the next day, had waited on Dr. Pitcairn, who happened to be not at home. In the afternoon, while the family were at dinner, she snatched a knife from the table and pursued a little girl, her apprentice, round the room. The remonstrances of the mother diverted her attention from the child, and ere her arm could be arrested she had pierced her parent to the heart. Lamb was only in time enough to snatch the knife from her hand after the fearful scene had been enacted. Her father, also, was slightly wounded in the forehead by one of the forks she had been hurling about the room. Lamb gives this account of the affair in a letter to Coleridge, written shortly after: "Some of my friends, or the public papers, by this time have informed you of the terrible calamities that have fallen on our family. I will only give you the outlines: My poor, dearest sister, in a fit of insanity, has been the death of her own mother. I was at hand only time enough to snatch the knife out of her grasp. She is at present in the mad-house, from whence I fear she must be moved to a hospital. God has preserved to me my senses; I eat, drink, and sleep, and have my judgment, I believe, very sound. My poor father was slightly wounded, and I am left to take care of him and my aunt. * * * Write as religious a letter as possible, *but no mention of what is gone and done with.* With me, 'the former things are passed away,' and I have something more to do than to feel. * * * Mention nothing of poetry: I have destroyed every vestige of past vanities of that kind. Do as you please, but if you publish, publish mine (I give you leave) without name or initial, and never send me a book, I charge you. * * * Don't, don't think of coming to see me—write. I will not see you if you come. God Almighty love you and all of us."

New domestic responsibilities, arising out of this event, were imposed on Lamb, and nobly did he bear himself, even to the sacrifice of every previously cherished feeling—his passion for the "fair-haired maid" and for poetry—that seemed to him to be incompatible with the claims of filial and fraternal duty. A project had been on foot this year for publishing Lamb's poetry in connection with that of Coleridge and Charles Lloyd. An extract from a letter to Coleridge on this subject, after this occurrence, will best convey the impression it made on Lamb's feelings and conduct. "The fragments I now send you I want printed, to get rid of 'em; for while they stick, burr-like, to my memory, they tempt me to go on with the idle trade of versifying, which I long—most sincerely I speak it—I long to leave off, for it is unprofitable to my soul; I feel it is; and these questions about words, and debates about alterations, take me off. I am conscious, from the properer business of *my* life. Take my sonnets once for all, and do not propose any re-amendments, or mention them again in any shape to me, I charge you. I blush that my mind can consider them as things of any worth; and pray admit or reject these fragments, as you like or dislike them, without ceremony. Call 'em sketches, fragments, or what you will, and do not entitle any of my things *love*-sonnets, as I told you to call them; 'twill only make me look little in my own eyes; for it is a passion of which I retain nothing. 'Twas a weakness, concerning which I may say, in the words of Petrarch (whose life is now open before), 'If it drew me out of some vices, it also prevented the growth of many virtues, filling me with the love of the creature rather than the Creator, which is the death of the soul!' Thank God, the folly has left me forever; not even a review of my love-verses renews one wayward wish in me; and if I am at all solicitous to trim them out in their best apparel, it is because they are to make their appearance in good company." In another letter, shortly after this, he furnishes the form of the dedication of his poems, which he wished to be addressed to his sister, and desired them to be prefixed by the following motto from Massinger:

> This beauty, in the blossom of my youth,
> When my first fire knew no adulterate incense,
> Nor I no way to flatter but my fondness,
> In the best language my true heart could tell me,
> And all the broken sighs my sick heart lent me,
> I sued and served. Long did I love this lady.

He concludes the letter with these words: "This is the pomp and paraphernalia with which I take my leave of a passion which has reigned so royally (so long) within me; thus, with its trappings of laureateship, I fling it off, pleased and satisfied with myself that the weakness troubles me no longer." I am wedded, Coleridge, to the fortunes of my sister and poor old father! Oh! my friend, I think, sometimes, could I recall the days that are past, which among them should I choose? Not those 'merrier days,' not the 'pleasant days of hope,' not 'those wanderings with a fair-haired maid,' which I have so often and so feelingly regretted; but the days, Coleridge, of a *mother's* fondness for her *schoolboy*. What would I give to call her back to earth for one *day*, on my knees to ask her pardon for all those little asperities of temper which from time to time have given her pain! And the day, my friend, I trust, will come when there will be 'time enough' for kind offices of love, if 'Heaven's eternal year' be ours. Hereafter her meek spirit shall not reproach me. Oh, my friend, cultivate the filial feelings! and let no man think himself released from the kind charities of relationship: these shall give him peace at last—these are the best foundation for every species of benevolence." Nothing can show more clearly the noble feeling that at this time actuated Lamb's conduct. His sinking father and unfortunate sister have a paramount claim on him. He will repay the affection both lavished on his childhood by the most religious devotion. Aught else on which this young heart had set its pure and fervent affections shall be sacrificed. There is to be no thought of self. He will atone for the terrible but innocent crime of his sister by giving up his own and entire life to the happiness of his family.

His father did not long survive this event, dying in the early part of this year, 1797. In the mean while Miss Lamb had recovered her reason, and some discussion arose among her relatives, etc., as to the manner in which she should be disposed of. It was very naturally thought undesirable that she should be altogether without restraint; and an idea was entertained of keeping her for life at an asylum. Lamb, however, cut short all these discussions by engaging to take her under his own care, and to be responsible for her during his lifetime. "To her, from the age of twenty-one, he devoted his existence; seeking thenceforth no connection which could interfere with his affection or impair his ability to sustain and comfort her." Accordingly, she was removed from the asylum to her brother's house. On the death of her aunt, which took place this year, in Lamb's house, she experienced a relapse, and was again placed under medical care. The duty to which he had devoted himself, and the trial it imposed on his feelings, may be conceived by an extract from a letter he wrote on the occasion to Coleridge: "My heart is quite sunk, and I don't know where to look for relief. Mary will get better again; but her being constantly liable to such relapses is dreadful. Nor is it the least of our evils that her case and all our story is so well known around us. We are in a manner *marked*. * * I am almost shipwrecked," etc. His sister was soon restored to him, but their happiness was frequently clouded by recurrences of her dreadful disorder. She became so familiar with the premonitory symptoms as to be able exactly to know when it was coming on; and she would then, herself, desire her brother to take her to the accustomed asylum. Both were sometimes seen walking arm in arm on this melancholy journey. There are frequent allusions to it in his letters, and they never paid a distant visit without taking a strait-jacket with them. Miss Lamb figures as Bridget Elia in her brother's essay on Mackery End—a delightful delineation, instinct with all the graces of his style, every touch of which is inspired and guided by the tenderest fondness. She divided with her brother the admiration of the numerous circle of gifted friends who, in after years, made their house the scene of weekly meetings and conversation. She acquired considerable estimation as an authoress. She was the joint author, with her brother, of the "Tales from Shakspeare," "Mrs. Leicester's School," and "Poetry for Children."

The remainder of Lamb's uneventful life was divided, until within a few years of his death, between his toilsome duties at Leadenhall street, his literary labours, and his personal and epistolary intercourse with his friends. The list of these, besides Coleridge, who was the medium of introduction to most of them, comprising Southey, Godwin, Wordsworth, Hazlitt, Leigh Hunt, Bernard Barton, Proctor (Barry Cornwall), Haydon, Talfourd, etc. A numerous collection of his letters to these distinguished men has been preserved to us, and they are among the most delightful and raciest specimens of composition the language affords. These unlaboured effusions from his warm heart abound in touches of wild and genial humour, subtle wit, felicitous plays on words, intermingled with happy criticisms and observations on books and men, that reveal a profound insight into the principles and spirit of art and nature. Every Wednesday evening, for many years, he had a gathering of his friends at his own house. The suppers were frequented by the abovementioned members of the literary world, and many of the most eminent artists and actors of the day. The utmost freedom prevailed. Of the intellectual character of these meetings, some conception may be formed, by a reference to the reminiscences furnished us of Coleridge's powers of conversation. Hazlitt in his essay on "Persons one would wish to have seen," has given a report of a discussion on one of these evenings, that affords a high idea of the luxury to heart and brain that must have been enjoyed by those who mingled in them. With the exception of visits, made always in company with his sister, during his short annual holidays, to Coleridge, Lloyd, Hazlitt, Wordsworth, Oxford and Cambridge (at which two places he delighted to spend his vacations), and once to Paris, in 1822, Lamb never left London; he always professed a distaste for the country and rural scenery, though, perhaps, more in sport than serious earnest, for incidental allusions in his poems and other works, show a fine appreciation of the beauties of inanimate nature; and when he once visited Coleridge in Cumberland the thorough interest he took in the features of mountain and lake scenery, the long and difficult walks he undertook to explore nature in those wilder and sublimer manifestations of her beauties, the quiet enthusiasm with which he afterwards refers to the incidents of this visit, showed that he was keenly alive to impressions of natural loveliness and grandeur. It is not to be denied, however, that he placed the pleasures of the country far below the attractions of the streets of London. When his mind was jaded with business and confinement, his remedy was to stroll along the most thronged thoroughfares "ranging the crowded streets with a keen eye and overflowing heart."

In the latter end of 1797, Lamb's first poetic effusions appeared in print, in company with the poems of Coleridge and Lloyd, published by Mr. Cottle, of Bristol. Lamb's share contained the love sonnets before referred to, a sonnet to Mrs. Siddons, and some pieces in blank verse, among which was the beautiful one with the title of the "Granddame." For the higher qualities of poetry, such as shone forth in his friend's "Religious Musing," the compositions of Lamb will be searched in vain. His muse, modestly conscious of the true extent of its powers, aspired not to wing to such a soaring height. With Coleridge's lofty purposes and daring speculations, though he admired them, he could not sympatize. He clung tenaciously to the personal, the individual and the tangible. With a fine, clear, deep and loving insight into moral beauty, his susceptibilities were more excited by the nicer and more delicate traits and movements of human feeling. These are portrayed with a fine tact in these youthful poems, the versification of which is exquisitely sweet and musical. Neither much fame nor fortune accrued to him from this publication.

They were followed next year, by the tale of "Rosamund Gray." This was more successful in its impression on the public, and its sale added a trifle to Lamb's slender income. The merit of this exquisite little work lies not in any skill in the development of the plot—in this respect it is deficient—nor, with the exception of the portrait of the heroine Rosamund Gray, and of her grandmother Margaret, in the distinctness of the characterization; but in the beauty of the diction, the refined sentiment, the elevated morality, and the deep religious earnestness by which it is pervaded. In it may be clearly traced the real farewell expression of his youthful feelings in the matter of the "fair-haired," who is evidently delineated in Rosamund.

In 1799, Lamb finished his tragedy of "John Woodvil," which he sent to John Kemble with a view to its representation on the stage. It was, however, rejected, but published in 1800. This play exhibits defects and beauties similar to those of his tale. In structure it is feeble and slight, but abounds in poetic beauties, and contains a lovely delineation of female character. The diction and versification is in the spirit of the old dramatists, whose peculiarities and beauties some of its passages vividly recall—as where Simon Woodvil describes to Margaret his occupations in the forests.

From this time to 1807, Lamb, then living in Mitre Court, wrote nothing except the essay, called "The Londoner," which afterwards appeared in the "Reflector;" a little poem on the death of Master Savory, the "Farewell to Tobacco," and an unsuccessful farce called "Mr. H."

In 1808 he published the "Adventures of Ulysses," and his "Specimens of English Dramatic Poets who lived about the time of Shakspeare."

In 1810 Lamb became connected with the "Reflector," a quarterly magazine, of which his friend and old school-fellow, Leigh Hunt, was editor. To it he contributed his "Farewell to Tobacco," many of his gayer pieces and his essays "On Garrick and Acting," and "On Hogarth," in which are embodied, perhaps, some of the noblest criticism in the English language.

In 1822, he commenced the series of essays under the signature of Elia, on which his fame as a writer chiefly depends. They appeared partly in the *London Magazine*, the *New Monthly* and in a publication entitled "The Last Essays of Elia." Their composition ranges between 1822 and 1833. These essays have taken their place among the classics of our language. Their subjects are, for the most part, fetched from the common—even the humblest—walks of life. But though the material is common, there is nothing common in the style. This is one of the most exquisite finish, yet as diverse as possible from the received rules of composition. An antique quaintness of phraseology pervades it throughout. In presenting an idea he frequently astonishes his reader by a marvellous fertility of graceful fancy, as well as wonderful mastery of language. The whole of his "Farewell to Tobacco" is an instance of this in his poetry. A colouring of subtle irony spread over some of these essays may, on the first impression, lead the reader to believe that his author is profanely sporting with what he has been accustomed to regard with admiration and reverence. A perception of the essayist's meaning, however, will show that his brain and heart are finely and nicely tuned to the inner harmonies of the spiritual and material universe; that few writers have, with less effort or display of argument, furnished so deep and lively an insight into profound truths; that none breathe a kindlier spirit, or instill so refined and elevated a morality.

In 1825, Lamb was released from the "drudgery of the desk," with a pension of £450 per annum during his life, to be enjoyed by his sister during her lifetime, in case she survived him. On the attainment of his impatiently looked-for freedom, he removed to Enfield, where he continued till his death. His feeling on being, at his fiftieth year, emancipated from the desk, "to which he had grown, as it were, until the wood had entered his soul," are admirably described in his essay on the "Superannuated Man." The change does not appear, as might be supposed, to have brought him unalloyed pleasure. If, when chained to the desk, he bitterly complained of the little leisure he had for literary pursuits and intercourse with his friends, he soon found himself at a loss for the disposal of the wealth of time of which he was now suddenly the master. He spent much time in long walks into the country.

Successively, in the years 1830 and 1834, he lost two of his best friends—Hazlitt and Coleridge. The death of the latter weighed with especial heaviness on his mind. He did not long survive his friend. In September, 1834, he met with a fall, and slightly injured his face. The wounds seemed healing, when the erysipelas in the head ensued, and he sank beneath the stroke, happily without much pain. He was buried in Edmonton church-yard, in a spot he had pointed out to his sister a fortnight before, as the spot where he wished his remains to rest.

The ruling feature in Lamb's character was its entire amiableness. He had the most large toleration, not only in matters of opinion, but of conduct. From no one that had ever once shared his regard could he be induced to withdraw it. His conversation is described as most delightful, abounding in wild and whimsical humour, pun and irony, and fine observation, intermingled in sweet and marvellous confusion. The testimony of one who enjoyed his intimacy is to this effect: "He would startle you with the finest perception of truth, separating by a phrase the real from a tissue of conventional falsehoods, and the next moment, by some whimsical invention, make you doubt truth to be a liar. He would touch the inmost pulse of profund affection, and then break of in some jest, which would sound profane to "ears polite," but carry as profound a meaning to those who had the right key as his most pathetic suggestions; and when he loved and doted most, he would vent the overflowing of his feelings in words that looked like rudeness." It must not be concealed that in his convivial moments he would often be betrayed into excesses in the use of stimulating drinks, that immediately afterwards caused him the acutest remorse. He also struggled manfully against the besetment, even to the denial of the company of such men as Southey, Coleridge and Wordsworth, that he might not by the accompaniments of the table, be enticed to excess; and it was partially to escape the temptations of society that he left London and buried himself in the country, when he became his own master. We regret that truth compels us to record the failing, even in this imperfect delineation of so great and good a man.—*London Biographical Magazine.*

PLAGIARISMS OF WRITERS FOR PERIODICALS.—It appears that a short prose article in Putnam's last *Monthly* is a translation from the German. This paper, entitled "Fitness in Oratory," is part of a treatise on rhetoric by Dr. Francis T. Theremin, in the German language, of which a translation has already been published in this city.

It is impossible for the editors of any periodical, monthly or daily, to avoid being taken in occasionally by plagiarists of this class. A few years since, there appeared in several successive numbers of the *Knickerbocker* some of the early poems of Barry Cornwall, transcribed by a correspondent and sent as original to the editor, who is not easily deceived in a mater of this kind, and who, not recollecting that he had ever seen them before, naturally congratulated himself on possessing so clever a correspondent. The true authorship of the verses was pointed out in the *Evening Post*, and the transcriber no longer allowed to amuse himself in this manner.

Not very long afterwards several poems, said to be the production of a young person in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, were sent to the *Evening Post*, and published as original. One or two of them sounded rather familiarly to our ear. Our suspicions were awakened, and finally we received a poem which we were sure we had seen more than once before. We published it, but not as an original poem, requesting information as to its author. It appeared that it was one of Charles Mackay's poems. We gave the name of our true author in our journal, after which we received no further contributions from the extraordinary young person in Pittsfield.

Some years since, *Blackwood's Magazine* frequently contained tales from the German, but published as original productions. The tales were well-chosen and respectably translated, and it might well be that the editor was ignorant of their real origin. It was not to be expected that he should be familiar enough with the multifarious literature of the German language to be able to detect at sight anything transferred from it to English.

Among the posthumous writings of Butler, the author of Hudibras, in the edition of his poems lately published at Boston, a transcript of what is commonly called the Aldine edition, is a translation of Boileaux's Satire or Epistle—for we do not recollect which, and we have not Boileaux at hand—on Rhyme, addressed to Molière. It is the poem commencing in the original with the line—

"Rare et fameux esprit, dont la fertile veine."

Butler's translation is published as original, the editor, evidently, not being aware of its real origin. Yet it is a very close and faithful translation, although in some cases the names of English wit and dunces are substituted for those of the French ones in the original.—*New York Evening Post.*

NEW AND DESTRUCTIVE ENGINES OF WAR.

THE Paris correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette* gives the following account of new engines of destruction, which will be brought into requisition by the present European war. He says:

"The new invention for the more rapid destruction of human beings, which the war is bringing to light, especially in England, will surpass all expectations. The arsenals of England have for a long time been closed to visitors, even to members of Parliament, while these new and terrible machines were being constructed and experimented upon, and no knowledge of their existence even was permitted until now called forth by actual service. Many years ago the English government had a proposition before them to adopt Wagner's floating gun, and hesitated. A member of Parliament exclaimed: 'He demands but £300,000, and yet you hesitate! Hasten to buy this machine, declare war against France, and you will destroy her marine in a few days time!' No attention was paid to this apostrophe at the time in France, and apparently none in England. But this terrible invention, of which the public has ceased to talk, and which was even ridiculed at the time, has been maturing in concealment in the arsenals of Woolwich, and is now ready to go out on its work of destruction.

"The Count Lavalette, captain of military marine in France, who knew the construction of this gun, it is said made endeavours to have it adopted by the minister of marine under Louis Philippe. It is simply a long Congreve gun, which glides along on the water in a straight line till it strikes the vessel at which it is directed, when it thrusts into its sides its iron head containing two pounds of fulminating powder of mercury. When the fire attains this reservoir, it explodes, blowing a hole in the vessel ten or twelve feet in diameter, which it is impossible for them to close up as they do the round holes made by cannon balls.

"In admitting that the Russian fleets shall retire under the inapproachable fortress of Constadt and Sebastopol, they cannot be in safety from this terrible Congreve gun, which carries to almost any distance within reach of the aim, and far beyond the reach of any other gun. It cannot be prevented from passing through the most contracted straits where ships pass.

"The submarine boats are so perfected at this moment, that they can reach and attach a burner to an enemy's ship without running the least danger. Experiments are also being made with an asphyxiating ball, which does not kill, but which paralyzes an entire crew for several hours, or until they are made prisoners. They are embarking into a large number of burning explosive balls, which explode invariably when they strike, even in the body of a horse, for they inflame at the moment of discharge from a gun, and fly burning like small Congreves until the moment of explosion, when they may apply fire to the ammunition chest and other inflammable material, as easily and as surely as if they were to fall in a stubble-field.

"They are furnishing two small steamboats of a singular appearance, which will carry only two enormous Paixhan guns, placed on the fore part of the vessel. The walls of these little vessels have a thickness of six feet, made of oak, standing upright, and this covered with a mattress of cotton substance a foot and a half thick, which is impenetrable to a bullet, and this again covered with a sheeting of iron and lead. Its prow has the the angular form of a curiass, intended to turn bullets; the roof or deck is covered in the same way, so as to allow the bombs to glide into the sea, without doing damage.

"The fire-ship, very heavy, and a bad sailer, will be towed and let loose at the proper moment, to approach near the enemy's vessels, either when at anchor or laying to, which it will attack fore and aft with bombs thrown betwen wind and water, and sprinkling the ship with a shower of Grecian fire. One of these burners, taken by surpise a fleet of vessels in a calm, could with ease destroy the whole fleet, and yet it only requires the labour of ten determined men to operate it.

"The peace society have agitated the question in England of how far a nation is justified in employing other and more destructive methods in war than those employed by the enemy. Admiral Napier has replied to those propositions with irony: 'If you fear to hurt the enemy put into your guns balls of cotton, and into your cannon cakes of rice!'

"The English fleet is largely provided with balloons, intended to carry inflammable materials to scatter over towns, villages, and fleets, when the wind favours such operations.

"Another invention, still more terrible than all the rest, but of which the construtions has not yet been made known, except to a very small number of persons, is about to be sent out to destroy the Russians. All these inventions are highly curious and interesting in the history of the war, but rather afflicting for humanity.

DR. YOUNG AND HIS "NIGHT THOUGHTS."—The poet's life, during the first ten years of his rectorship at Welwyn, flowed on in an open tenor. He was regular in his conduct, happy in his family, diligent in his pastoral duties, and easy in his fortune. His preaching was popular and useful. His studies were principally connected with his own profession, and yielded him a growing satisfaction. An anonymous writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1782, who seems to be intimate with him, thus describes him: "The dignity of a great and good mind appeared in all his actions, and in all his words. He conversed on religious subjects with the cheerfulness of virtue; his piety was undebased by gloom or enthusiasm; he was regular in the performance of all its duties, both in public and in private. In his domestic character he was amiable as he was venerable in the Christian. His politeness was such as I never saw equalled: it was invariable to his superiors in rank; to his equals and to his inferiors it differed only in degrees of elegance. I never heard him spenk with roughness to the meanest servant. In conversation upon lively subjects he had a brilliancy of wit which was peculiar to himself; I know not how to describe it but by saying that it was both heightened and softened by the amiable qualities of his soul. I have seen him ill and in pain, yet the serenity of his mind remained unruffled. I never heard a peevish expression fall from his lips." Few of his brilliancies are preserved, since, unfortunately, he had no Boswell attached to his heels. But one or two of the sayings that have floated down to us are singularly characteristic. On one very stormy night Young went out to his garden, and remained some time. When he returned, one expressed wonder why he had stayed so long in such an evening. "Oh," he replied, "it is a very fine night; *the Lord is abroad.*" He was very fond of a garden, and inscribed on the wall of his summer-house the words, "Ambulantes in horto audiebant vocem Dei" (walking in the garden, they heard the voice of God). He had also erected a dial with the inscription, "Eheu fugaces!" which, he said with a smile to Mr. Langton, "was sadly verified, for by the next morning my dial had been carried off." Though sometimes melancholy, he was disposed to encourage mirth in others, and established an assembly and bowling-green in his parish. And had this been all—had Young continued to pursue such an even, equable course—he had been by this time well nigh forgotten; for we do not think that either his satires or plays would of themselves have preserved his name. But it was decreed that grief should co-operate with disappointment in unfolding the full riches of his mind. Antæus was strongest when he touched the ground. Job was never so eloquent till he was prostrated on his dunghill. And, in order to be able to write the "Night Thoughts," Young must be plunged in the deepest gloom of affliction—"Thrice flew the shaft, and thrice his peace was slain." In 1736, a daughter of his wife, by a former husband, died. This was Mrs. Temple, the Narcissa of his great poem. Her disease was a lingering one. Young accompanied her to Lyons, where she died, and where her remains were brutally denied sepulture, as the dust of a Protestant. Her husband, Mr. Temple, or Philander, died four years later; and in 1741, Young's wife, or Lucia, also expired. He now felt himself alone, and blasted in his solitude. But his grief did not sink into sullen inactivity. He made it oracular, and distilled his tears into song. The "Night Thoughts" were immediately commenced, and published between 1742 and 1744. This marvellous poem was all composed either at night, or when riding on horseback—an exercise, by the way, which gives a sense of mastery and confidence, stirs the blood, elevates the animal spirits, and has been felt by many to be eminently favourable to thought and mental composition. It inspired, we know, such men as Burns, Byron, Shelley, and Delta. We love to think of Young riding through the green lanes of his parish, and cooing out to himself his plaintive minstrelsies. We love better still to watch his lonely lamp shining at midnight, like a star, through the darkness, and seeming to answer the far signal of those mightier luminaries which are burning above in the Great Bear and Orion—the poet the while now, dipping his pen to indite his immortalities—now leaning his head on his widowed arm, and surrendering himself to paroxysms of uncontrollable anguish—and now looking out upon the night as the "Lord is abroad" on the wings of the tempest, or as He is silently shining out his name in suns and galaxies—those unwearied "Watchers," and unbaptised "Holy Ones."—*From Nichol's recent edition of Young's Night Thoughts, edited by the Rev. George Gilfillan.*

THE DECLARATION OF WAR.

From the Supplement of The London Gazette, March 28:

DECLARATION.

IT is with deep regret that Her Majesty announces the failure of her anxious and protracted endeavours to preserve for her people and for Europe the blessings of peace.

The unprovoked aggression of the Emperor of Russia against the Sublime Porte has been persisted in with such disregard of consequences, that after the re-action of the Emperor of Russia of terms which the